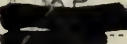
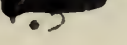


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○ Totonteac = Moqui. — Marata = Ma-Kya-ta. ○ Cibola = Zuñi. — Hacus = Acoma.
 Probable journey of Fray Juan de la Asuncion and Fray Pedro Nadal.

Approximate course of Cabeza de Vaca, Maldonado, Dorantes, and Estévanico.
 Journey of Fray Marcos of Nizza

51
A64
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Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America.
AMERICAN SERIES.

V.

HEMENWAY

SOUTHWESTERN ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXPEDITION.

CONTRIBUTIONS

TO THE

HISTORY OF THE SOUTHWESTERN PORTION
OF THE UNITED STATES.

By A. F. BANDELIER.

Adolph Francis Alphonse, 184-1914



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P R E F A C E.

THESE monographs are the first fruits of a work begun by me while in charge of the documentary researches connected with the Hemenway Expédition. It was my plan to treat the history of the Southwest in sections, monographically. The first four papers here published were to have been followed by similar ones on the expeditions of Coronado, Chamuscado, Espejo, and Oñate, but the material which I accumulated for the purpose is at present beyond my reach. To proceed further may therefore entail a resumption of the main task; to wit, the collection of as much documentary information as possible in the shape of faithful copies of original manuscripts, times of rest being employed for excursions over the country in order to add to this material accurate topographical knowledge, oral information, and ethnological and archæological data, so that all these various resources may be duly utilized in combination.

To write the history of the Southwest, or any portion thereof, requires the accumulation of a vast amount of material. That material, aside from what Indian traditions afford, is mostly found in Spain. Only a limited number of the documents contained in the Archives of the Indies have as yet been published. It had been my wish, after copying whatever the archives at Santa Fé, Santa Clara, El Paso del Norte, and Mexico contained, to visit Spain, and secure

copies of the large and well preserved mass of documentary material there extant. Sooner or later this work will have to be performed ; for there are long periods in the history of New Mexico, for instance, about which Mexican as well as New Mexican archives contain almost nothing. The period of New Mexican history between 1643 and 1680 is as yet nearly a blank. Important papers on the organization of the missions in the seventeenth century, like the relations of Fray Roque de Figueredo and of Fray Francisco de Escobar, have disappeared. They formerly existed at Mexico. From the archives at Santa Fé nearly all the papers touching upon the troubles with the Moqui Indians in the beginning of the last century are missing. Without the help of the ecclesiastical archives at Santa Clara I should not have been able to treat of the expedition of Villazur, or to establish the identity of the founder of the present New Mexican family of Archibeque with Jean l'Archévêque, the betrayer of La Salle.

It is not immaterial whether or not such obscure periods are fully known. They may not present striking events, but they were the times during which important crises were preparing. Thus the great rebellion of 1680 had its first germs in the years between 1642 and 1676 ; the seeds of it were sown even at an earlier date. Neither is it unimportant to have a correct knowledge of all these events from a general point of view. Had proper attention been paid to the true state and course of Spanish colonization in New Mexico,—to what Spain derived from that country, and what the Spanish government thought of it,—millions fruitlessly invested could have been saved. Had the relations between the Spaniards and the Indians been critically studied in time, much unproductive labor could have been spared, and involuntary injustice avoided. It is not too late yet.

I therefore present the papers herein contained as a mere beginning of a work temporarily interrupted. Should it become possible to resume it, the plan above mentioned would be followed. The time is past when history, to be of permanent use, can be treated otherwise than in a monographic way. The greatest possible amount of detail is indispensable to make it, not merely vivid, but also sufficiently accurate, and therefore impartial. To be impartial is the only way to become truthful, — and truth, for the sake of the past, present, and future, is the end and aim of historical research.

AD. F. BANDELIER.

SANTA FÉ, NEW MEXICO,
June 12, 1890.

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HEMENWAY SOUTHWESTERN ARCHÆOLOGICAL
EXPEDITION.



CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE SOUTH-
WESTERN PORTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

By A. F. BANDELIER.

SOUTHWESTERN HISTORICAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

I.

SKETCH OF THE KNOWLEDGE WHICH THE SPANIARDS IN MEXICO POSSESSED OF THE COUNTRIES NORTH OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW GALICIA, PREVIOUS TO THE RETURN OF CABEZA DE VACA, IN THE YEAR 1536.

THERE is no evidence that Cortés, when he subdued the tribes of Tamaulipas in 1522, obtained from those tribes any intelligence whatever of countries farther north and inland. What was known or heard of the regions beyond the mouth of the Rio Panuco concerned exclusively the coast of the Gulf of Mexico and of the Atlantic Ocean.¹ The same may be affirmed of the first explorations made by order of Cortés on the Pacific slope. Ciguatan, the place where women, Amazons, were said to reside, was located on an island by those who brought the news of the existence of such a tribe.²

¹ Compare Hernando Cortés, *Carta Cuarta*, October 15, 1524, edition of Lorenzana, 1828, p. 520 *et seq.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 534: "Y asimismo me trajo relacion de los señores de la provincia de Ciguatan, que se afirman mucho haber una isla toda poblada de mugeres, sin varon ninguno y que en ciertos tiempos van de la tierra-firme hombres, con los cuales han aceso; y las que quedan preñadas, si paren mugeres las guardan; y si hombres, los echande su compañía; y que esta isla esta diez jornadas de esta provincia, y que muchos de ellos han ido alla, y la han visto. Dicen me asimismo, que es muy rica de perlas, y oro." It is not unlikely that the island alluded to is one of the group of the Tres Marias, in front of the harbor of Mazatlan.

The legend of the Amazons, as I have elsewhere stated,¹ was brought to America from Europe by the earliest explorers; nay, by Columbus himself. The difficulty of understanding the speech of the aborigines, as well as the impossibility of comprehending their social organization and kinship, caused European discoverers to recognize myths of the Old World as being actually realized in the New. Thus the Great Admiral speaks, in his letter to the Treasurer, Rafael Sanchez, of a certain island called Matenin, "the first one from Española toward the Indies," inhabited by women only, who held intercourse at stated times with male Caribs, and who protected their bodies in war with plates of copper.² The island of women not being found in the Gulf of Mexico nor in the Caribbean Sea, the tale flitted over to the mainland, as Spanish enterprise penetrated to the Isthmus, and finally into Mexico. It reappeared on the west coast in 1522, where Gonzalo de Sandobal heard of it, or imagined that he heard of it, while in Colima.³

Cortés found little time for following in person this Fata Morgana. But his successor and enemy, the notorious Nuño Beltran de Guzman, reached Ciguatan, and found that he had

¹ *Historical Introduction to Studies among the Sedentary Indians of New Mexico* (in *Papers of the Archæological Institute of America*, American Series, vol. i.). Also *The Discovery of New Mexico by Fray Marcos of Nizza* (in *Magazine of Western History*, September, 1886). Compare also Joannes Eusebius Nieremberg, S. J., *Historia Naturæ Maxime Peregrinæ*, 1635, p. 135: "Amazonas aliquas fuisse in novo orbe, fabula multis fuit, semifabula quondam Petro Martyri."

² *Carta de Cristobal Colon*, March 14, 1493 (in *Coleccion de Viages y Descubrimientos que hicieron por Mar los Españoles*, by Navarrete, vol. i. p. 191): "Estos [the Caribs] son los que se unen á ciertas mugeres que habitan solas la isla Matenin, que es la primera desde la Española á la India. Estas mugeres no se dedican á labor alguna propia de su sexo, pues usan de arcos y dardos, segun se dijo de los anteriores, y se ponen por defensa laminas de cobre, de que tienen grande abundancia."

³ Cortés, *Carta Quarta*, p. 534. It is superfluous to quote later sources, since they have gathered their information from Cortés and his reports.

been pursuing a phantom. He was led to this discovery step by step, and while nothing positive guided his advance, except such information as was obtained piecemeal from Indians, yet his expedition led to a considerable increase in geographical knowledge, and ultimately opened the road on which New Mexico was to be discovered.

Alongside of the Amazon myth, another importation from the Old World contributed largely to impel the Spaniards northward. This was the tale of the "Seven Cities."

The story that a Bishop of Lisbon fled to certain islands west of Europe, in the eighth century, to escape aggressions of the Arabs, and that on these islands he and his followers founded seven distinct settlements, is older than the time of Columbus. But it is vague and nebulous, and beyond the name of the island or group of islands given as "Antillia" (*ante insula*), or islands lying before some unknown "tierra firme," nothing definite can be gathered.¹ The story is probably one of those legends, partly founded on fact, which since the discovery of America appear to us as forebodings of that great event, whereas previous to Columbus's first voyage hardly any attention was paid to them.² There is to a certain extent an analogy between Antillia and Atlantis, in the circumstance that the latter tale, which is a reminiscence of classical antiquity, speaks of a western continent submerged and destroyed, whereas the former hints at the existence

¹ For ample details on the sources whence the Antillia tale is derived, I refer to the magnificent publication by Mr. Justin Winsor under the title *Aboriginal America*. The reader will find in the first three sections of this valuable work reference to every important source touching the Antillia of the fifteenth century. Gregorio Garcia, *Origen de los Indios* (2d edition, note by the Editor Barcia, p. 189), says that the "Seven Cities" were found on an island by the Portuguese in the year 1448. Compare also Antonio de Herrera, *Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y la Tierra firme del Mar Oceano*, ed. 1730, Decada I. p. 4.

² Except by one or the other of the cosmographers of the time.

of fragments of firm land, which have in this century been looked upon by erudite thinkers as remnants of the great island once called Atlantis.¹ In another direction the story of Antillia appears correlated with the legends of Saint Brandan and Saint Maclovius.²

There is always some foundation for reminiscences of this kind. They are never absolute inventions. But at an age when everything beyond the Pillars of Hercules was, for the learned man even, a matter of doubt, it was impossible to sift critically evidences the practical importance of which could not then be realized. Therefore the Antillia story, like all others of analogous import, attracted no attention until it was perhaps too late to ascertain its original sources.³ Be this as it may, it is certain that the tale of the Seven Cities turned up in Mexico among the Spaniards a very short time, comparatively speaking, after the myth of the Amazons had almost ceased to be an incentive to expeditions towards the North.

There is a point here which requires careful attention. Among the Nahuatl, and other tribes of Mexico and Central America, the tale of "Seven Caves," from which certain tribes were believed to have issued, is represented as being a part of their folk-lore. Folk-lore is a very fair source of historical information where it is accurately preserved; and since we know how such tales became an integral part of the ritual of esoteric

¹ Compare among others, Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Popul Vuh, le Livre sacré et les Mythes de l'Antiquité Américaine*, 1861, Introduction, p. lx.; but more particularly yet his *Relation des Choses de Yucatan de Diego de Landa*, Introduction, pp. v. and viii.

² In that all three treat of some island in the Atlantic Ocean. But the one discovered by Saint Maclovius turned out to be the back of a gigantic fish. Garcia, *Origen de los Indios*, pp. 32, 33. The name of the island which he was seeking in company with Saint Brandan was Ima.

³ Garcia (see above) refers, as a source, to "vn manuscrito en pergamino mui antiguo, i grave, que imprimió Fr. Juan Bosco."

clusters,¹ we may also conceive how the Atlantis tale has survived as the property of a few, distorted and enlarged, but still enclosing a nucleus of original truth. In the case of the Seven Caves, — Chicom-oztoc in the Nahuatl legend, Tulan Zuiva in the Quiche tradition of Guatemala,² — we should first examine whether this legend antedates the Seven Cities on American soil, or whether it appears subsequent to the enterprises of the Spaniards which have made the "Seven Cities of Cibola" so famous.

It is not sufficient to adduce that neither Cortés nor any one of the direct conquerors of Mexico mentions the tale of the Seven Caves. During the stirring times of military work, as well as during the period of administrative organization following upon the Conquest, it is evident that very little solid information could be gathered touching genuine traditions of the Indians. Neither were the latter very communicative, except in so far as local and private interests were concerned. But when once the Conquest was established and organization initiated, the time came when particular attention could be paid to the recollections of the aborigines concerning their past. To do this, there was a powerful incentive.

The fact that a continent so completely separated from the old one was found inhabited, and by a branch of mankind that indicated, in their features as well as in their mode of life, protracted residence in these hitherto unknown quarters of the globe, appealed to speculation and investigation in the highest degree. How the Indians could have reached the new continent, — how and by what route they could have attained the sites where they dwelt or the regions through which they roamed, — these were points important to ascer-

¹ The discovery of this important fact is due to Mr. F. H. Cushing.

² Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Popol Vuh*, pp. 216, 226, 228.

tain as accurately as possible, not only from the standpoint of speculative curiosity, but especially from the standpoint of religion, and for acquiring provisional notions about lands remote and as yet unexplored.

The earliest methodical investigations touching the creed, beliefs, and myths, tradition included, of the Central Mexican tribes are due to the endeavors of Archbishop Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga. While this prelate, on the one hand, earnestly strove to uproot aboriginal creeds, which were incompatible with civilization,¹ on the other hand, he caused

¹ Much censure has been expended on the action of this ecclesiastic regarding his destruction of idols, and other objects of worship pertaining to the ancient order of things in Mexico. I can but heartily indorse the able defence which Don Joaquin Garcia Ycazbalceta has made against the accusations, and particularly against the charge that Archbishop Zumárraga had wantonly destroyed Indian archives which were supposed to have been extant previous to the advent of the missionaries, but which in truth never existed. I do not venture to translate the words of the distinguished biographer of Zumárraga. I fear that the best translation might detract from the merits of words written under the impulse of a conviction attained after years and years of study. But I venture to copy here a few sentences of the work (*Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga, primer Obispo y Arzobispo de Mexico*, 1881) which he has had the courage to write: "Injusto parece que cuando debemos á alguien grandes beneficios, paremos la consideracion en una falta que haya cometido, y nos empeñemos en abultarla, á pesar de que despues la haya reparado con exceso. Tal sucede con los primeros apóstoles de nuestra tierra. No nos cansamos de censurar el celo falso ó necio, la ignorancia ó el fanatismo que suponemos los impulsó á destruir las antigüedades aztecas; pero no nos tomamos siquiera el trabajo de averiguar si el hecho es cierto, ni queremos recordar que á ellos se debió la abolición de los sacrificios humanos, el establecimiento de la verdadera religion, la defensa y conservacion del pueblo vencido. Y despues de todo, el cargo es falso ó grandemente exagerado; y el poco daño que tal vez llegarían á causar en pinturas verdaderamente importantes, quedó bien compensado con los escritos que les debemos." (pp. 366 and 367.) Further on he very justly says: "Si algo leemos en las pinturas, y de algo sirven para esclarecer uno ú otro hecho historico, es porque sabemos de antemano el hecho, y porque los misioneros nos dejaron el conocimiento de la lengua y de muchos de los signos con que los aztecas representaban lo que podían, á cuya obra ayudaron los intérpretes de los primeros años. Sin tales auxilios las pinturas serían ininteligibles; pruéba lo que el codice de Dresde que no

the myths, etc., to be carefully collected. This was the origin of the "Historia de Los Mexicanos por sus Pinturas." This collection of myths is certainly anterior to 1547, and from it Francisco Lopez de Gomara has probably gathered his interesting and valuable "Aperçu" of ancient Nahuatl or specifically Central Mexican creed and belief. It may be regarded as the exposition of Mexican myths and traditions which is freest from Christian tinge or Old World influence upon the minds of the natives.¹

es Mexicano ni tiene interpretacion, permanece mudo, y apenas se sabe á qué pueblo pertenece. La interpretacion de ciertos geroglificos aztecas es hoy tan clara como la de una charada cuya solucion ya se conoce. Careciendo de todo antecedente, qué leeriamos al ver un deforme muñeco, sentado en cucullas, con rostro de perfil y ojo de frente, ceñida la cabeza con una diadema puntiaguda, y acompañado de una pierna llagada ó herida? Ahora decimos sin vacilar que es el rey Tizoc, pero porque ya sabemos que así se le representaba. Y á pesar de eso, cuantas y cuantas interpretaciones muy acreditadas no han venido al suelo. En la famosa pintura del 'Viaje de los Aztecas,' todos, y aun personajes tan graves como Siguenza, Clavigero y Humboldt, vieron la historia de tiempos remotísimos: el diluvio universal, la confusion de las lenguas, la dispersion de las gentes, y qué sé yo cuantas cosas mas, lo cual quedó aceptado como cosa indudable, hasta que el Sr. Ramirez y despues el Sr. Orozco y Berra probaron que no hay alli diluvio, ni torre de Babel, ni cosa que lo valga, y que todo se reduce á la peregrinacion de los Mexicanos, no desde el misterioso y lejano Chicomoztoc, sino puramente dentro de los límites del valle de México." (p. 367.) "En resumen: no fué considerable, ni en cantidad ni en calidad, el daño que los misioneros causaron en las pinturas aztecas: el que hicieron á los principios, supieron repararle cumplidamente, y no hay justicia para acusarlos de ignorancia y fanatismo, por solo un momento de error muy disculpable." (p. 371.) With equal justness and force the author treats of the destruction of objects of worship, idols, etc. Not to make this note too prolix, I simply refer the reader to pages 346, 347, and 348 of the work quoted.

I have dwelt so much at length on this subject, for the reason that I consider the position taken by Señor Ycazbalceta in regard to the value of Mexican pictographs for historical purposes as indeed the true one. In this connection I may refer also to my paper, published in the volume of Proceedings of the Twenty-seventh Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and entitled *On the Sources for Aboriginal History of Spanish America*, and especially to pages 320, 323, and 324.

¹ This document was published by its owner, Señor Ycazbalceta, in No. 2 of Volume II. of the *Anales del Museo Nacional de Mexico*, 1889. The title-page

In this report, the word "Chicomuxtoque" (Chicomoztoc, or seven caves) already appears. It appears as one of the stations where the Mexican tribe on its migratory wanderings rested for a number of years.¹ There is hardly any possibility that this tradition, recorded at a time when the two races had hardly been in contact for more than one decennium,² could already have been an echo of Old World myths. The seven caves appear, therefore, as an aboriginal American conception, probably a geographical fact, incorporated in historic tradition, preserved, as is customary among the Indians within the esoteric clusters, orally as well as on pictographs.³

The name "Chicomoztoc" is also found in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan," — a chronicle that bears every sign of authenticity, as far as its Indian origin is concerned, and which

indicates that Don Sebastian Ramirez, Bishop of Cuenca, and President of the Royal Audiencia of New Spain, carried it to Madrid himself. The Bishop left Mexico in 1536, consequently the material for the *Historia* must have been collected before that date. At the close of the manuscript we read: "Fr. Bnō de San Francō, Franciscano = sacada de las pinturas de los Mexicanos = y el Stō arpō Zumárraga."

If, as Señor Alfredo Chavero suggests, with a great deal of probability, this is to indicate that Fray Bernardino Rivera, better known as Sahagun, was the compiler of this narration, the basis of which are pictographs and, furthermore, "Relacion de los viejos y de los que en tiempo de su ynfidelidad eran sacerdotes y papas, y por dicho de los señores y principales a quien se enseñaba la ley y criaron en los templos para que la deprendiesen, juntados ante mi y traídos sus libros y figuras que segun lo que demostraban eran antiguas, y muchas dellas teñidas la mayor parte vntadas con sangre humana," then the compilation must have been made between the years 1529 and 1536. It is consequently the oldest and most authentic collection of data touching the creed and traditions of the aborigines of Central Mexico we as yet possess.

¹ *Historia de los Mexicanos por sus Pinturas*, cap. xi. p. 93.

² About fourteen years at most.

³ Compare note 1, beginning on preceding page. The introductory passage of the *Historia*, therein quoted, recalls very much the method still observed by the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, to preserve their myths and rituals through oral teaching among the secret clusters.

was composed about thirty years after the Conquest.¹ A great number of other sources from the sixteenth century, as well as pictographs, might be enumerated ; but I consider the fact that the "Seven Caves" are mentioned in the documents above stated sufficient evidence to prove that there existed in the mind of the Mexican Indians recollections of a place where natural circumstances, possibly also sociological causes, had at one time induced these ancestors to divide into seven localized groups or clusters.²

This tale of the Seven Caves was well adapted to fit the European tale of the Seven Cities, and we need not wonder that the latter were soon heard of at the young Spanish town of Mexico, and heard of through *native Indian sources*.

Pedro de Castañeda, a soldier of Coronado's expedition, and author of an interesting, though very partial, report on that unlucky enterprise, furnishes what is possibly the most detailed statement touching the legendary Seven Cities. He says : "In the year 1530, Nuño de Guzman, President of New Spain, at that time owned an Indian, one of the natives of the valley or valleys of Oxitipar, whom the Spaniards call Tejos. This Indian told him that he was the son of a trader deceased long ago, who, while his son was still a child, was wont to travel over the interior of the country in order to sell the handsome plumes that are used for head-dresses by the Indians. In exchange he brought home a large quantity of gold and silver, both metals being very common in that region. He added, that once or twice he had himself accompanied his father, and had seen towns so large that he

¹ It is greatly to be regretted that the publication of the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*, which was begun in the *Anales del Museo*, by the late Don Gumersindo Mendoza, has not been continued after his death.

² This is the most common interpretation, and through it the tale approaches that of the "Seven Cities." That there may have been a gradual blending of the two in the minds of the Indians, and of the Spaniards as well, is not at all improbable.

could compare them in size to Mexico and its suburbs. There were seven of these towns, and there were whole rows of streets inhabited by gold and silver workers. He said besides, that in order to reach these seven towns it was necessary to cross a desert for forty days, where there was no vegetation except short grass about five inches in height, and that the direction was to the north between both oceans."¹

While there certainly was a grain of truth in this Indian story, the gross exaggerations are also apparent. If the fact of its having been told to Nuño de Guzman rested on the testimony of Castañeda alone, we might doubt even that; but it is also stated in contemporaneous documents elsewhere. This tale exercised a decided influence upon the enterprises which Guzman directed to the north along the Pacific coast,² and in the course of which he did indeed find Ciguatan. It turned out to be an Indian village of the kind and class peculiar to Jalisco and Sinaloa. It is related that the women which were met there were of different appearance from those previously seen, and the Indian interpreters were shrewd enough to repeat the stories about Amazons

¹ *Relation du Voyage de Cibola*, French translation by Ternaux-Compans, Part I. chap. I. The Spanish original is in the Lenox Library at New York. Ternaux was a very careless and unreliable translator; but in default of the original, which I cannot consult from here, I have to limit myself to the translation. Castañeda is usually reliable in regard to matters touching the Indians and on geographical topics, but he is also very partial, and often slanderous, in regard to the actions and motives of his countrymen. He must have had a sour and passionate temper, and been much embittered by deceptions on the journey to New Mexico.

² *Segunda Relacion Anónima de la Jornada de Nuño de Guzman* (*Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, Ycazbalceta, vol. ii. p. 303): "La demanda que llevabamos cuando salimos a descubrir este rio era las Siete Cidades, porque el Gobernador Nuño de Guzman tenia noticia dellas, é de un rio que salia á la Mar del Sur, é que tenia cuatro ó cinco leguas en ancho, é los Indios tenian una cadena de hierro que atravesaba el rio para detener las canoas é balsas que por el viniesen, é era gente muy belicosa, é hallamos que tengo dicho."

which they had heard from the Spaniards themselves. At Ciguatan they heard of Culiacan, and so Guzman advanced step by step until some of his officers finally reached the Mayo River, on the confines of Sinaloa and Sonora. This occurred in 1530, and the year following¹ a small post, rather than colony, was founded at Culiacan in Sinaloa, and from it incursions were made at intervals into Southern Sonora, with the hideous object of securing slaves. This was the work of two officers, men of exceptional cruelty, which they displayed not only towards the Indians, but also

¹ Garcia del Pilar, *Relacion de la Entrada de Nuño de Guzman* (Ycazbalceta, vol. ii. p. 259): "Pasados diez dias, pasando por algunos pueblos todos de guerra é ninguno apaciguado, llegamos al pueblo de Ciguatlan, que dicen ser las mujeres; é en este pueblo hallamos todo lo mas mujeres, é no se pudo alcanzar si vivian solas ó tenian maridos, por cabsa de no tener lengua que las entendiese bien, salvo que habia muy pocos hombres é todo mujeres." *Tercera Relacion Anónima de la Jornada de Nuño de Guzman* (Ibid., p. 451): "Despues por las lenguas se supo que estas mujeres decian haber venido por la mar, y antiguamente guardar entre si tal orden que no tenian maridos ni entre si los consentian, mas antes de cierto tiempo en cierto tiempo venian los comarcanos á entrar con ellas y las que preñadas quedaban y parian hijos los enterraban vivos, y las hijas criaban, y que de poco tiempo á esta parte no mataban los niños, mas los criaban, y cuando eran de diez años ó poco mas los daban á sus padres. Desto no se pudo saber bien el secreto dello, porque las lenguas no eran muy expertas." Very explicit and positive is the *Cuarta Relacion Anónima de la Jornada de Nuño de Guzman* (Ibid., p. 475): "Llegamos al pueblo de Ciguatlan, que es cabecera de ciertos pueblos al derredor de el, do teniamos noticia y decian que eran las Amazonas. En este pueblo y en otros que se corrieron al derredor no se hallo sino mujeres, y muy poco ó casi ninguno varon, y por esto se presumio mas ser las mujeres de que se traia noticia; y la cabsa porque no se hallaron varones entre ellas, era porque se andaban acabdillando los varones para nos dar guerra en cierto cabo. Esto es ansi, porque despues cuando volvimos de las sierras y despoblado que no podimos pasar, los hallamos en sus casas con sus mujeres é hijos, sin hacer diferencia de otros pueblos. Nunca se pudo hallar lengua aqui que los entendiese." This explains very well the contents of the source previously quoted. The Indian interpreters, unable to understand the people, explained the fact that only women were found at a certain place in a manner to suit the fancy of those for whom they were to interpret, — a feature which happens almost daily, more or less, wherever Indians are called upon to act as mediums between white people and members of their own race.

towards their countrymen. Diego de Alcaraz and Lazaro Cebberos were worthy followers of Guzman. It is due to the Spanish authorities to state that the misdeeds of these two individuals were not tolerated any longer than until it became possible to restrain them. At the great distance at which their post was situated from any governmental centre, however, years ran by ere the superior authorities of New Galicia were informed of the crimes which, under pretext of serving the King, and even Christianity, the two officers were perpetrating on the extreme northern confines of Spanish colonization.¹

As early as 1531, also, Nuño de Guzman heard reports of a big river, several leagues wide at its mouth, which the Indians inhabiting its banks used to close by means of an iron cable. This river was either the Yaqui, or, as might be surmised from the exaggerations, the Colorado of the West.² Suffice it to say, that the Spaniards became well acquainted with the rivers Mayo and Yaqui, and that the most northern point to which the followers of Guzman had penetrated in 1536 was the range of the Nebomes, or Southern Pimas, in the foothills of the Sierra Madre of Southern Sonora.³

It was in this region that Cabeza de Vaca and his three

¹ I shall have to return to the conduct of these officers in the essay on Cabeza de Vaca and his expedition, or rather wanderings. For the present, I merely refer to Fray Antonio Tello, *Historia de la Nueva Galicia* (fragment published in Ycazbalceta, vol. ii. p. 357). There are other sources also, which I shall quote hereafter on this point.

² The mention of this big river is found in *Segunda Relacion Anónima de la Jornada de Nuño de Guzman*, p. 303. See page 10, note 2. Since the Spaniards had already discovered the Yaqui, it may be surmised that the Indian stories thus related might have referred to the Colorado, as being the only really large river in that region.

³ This is proven by the deposition of Diego de Guzman in *Progreso del Marques del Valle y Nuño de Guzman y los Adelantados Soto y Alvarado, sobre el Descubrimiento de la Tierra Firme* (*Documentos de Indias*, vol. xv. p. 333).

companions, Andrés Dorantes, Maldonado, and the negro Estevanico, fell in with their countrymen in the year 1536. That event opened a new phase in the annals of Spanish strides towards the North, and I regard it as necessary to devote to it a special chapter. Ere I begin the critical examination of Cabeza de Vaca's remarkable journeyings, however, it may not be out of place to cast a glance at the naval expeditions attempted along the Pacific coast from Mexican territory previous to Cabeza de Vaca's return, and also to examine whether or not the Indians of Central Mexico possessed any knowledge of the distant North, which knowledge they might have imparted to the Spaniards.

Previous to the year 1536, Cortés set on foot not less than four distinct attempts to navigate the South Sea. The first one, in 1522, failed on account of the supplies and building material having been set on fire and destroyed in the port of Zacatula, where the ships were being constructed.¹

¹ Francisco Gonzalo de Oviedo y Valdes, *Historia General y Natural de Indias*, ed. 1853, vol. iii. p. 434. The matter of their destruction is told as follows by the same authority (p. 462): "Contado ha la historia como Hernando Cortes avia dado orden como se hiciessen quatro navios en la costa de la Mar del Sur: es de saber, que por haber mucho tiempo que se avia comenzado la labor dellos é tan lexos dessotra mar del Norte, de donde se avia de llevar todo lo que convenia para perfeccionarlos (que hay de la una parte á la otra doscientas leguas ó mas por tierra, de fragosos puertos de sierras é con muy grandes y caudalosos rios en el viage), no pudo ser menos de tardarse la obra, pues que no avia de donde se proveyessen sino de España é con mucha dificultad. É otro impedimento ovo demas de lo que está dicho, é fue que el gobernador tenia en una casa en el puerto, donde los navios se hacian, todo el adereço que para ellos era menester, assi como velas, clavos, xarcia, clavaçon, ancoras, pez, sebo, azeyte, estopa, estoperoles, botamen é otras cosas, é una noche se puso fuego sin saber como, é se quemó todo ello, sin quedar cosa de que se pudiesse aver provecho sino de las ancoras, que no se pudieron quemar, é aun de aquellas se quemaron los cepos é despues fue menester que de nuevo se tornasse todo á proveer con mayores gastos é mas dilacion de tiempo." From this it might be concluded that not the ships themselves, but only the construction material, and that only in part, was burnt. It is copied by Oviedo verbatim from Cortés, *Carta Quarta* (ed. Lorenzana, p. 572). But Lorenzana himself, in his article on the Voyages of Cortez in the South Sea, says (p. 490): "Hizo dos caravelas, y dos

The three ships commanded by Alvaro Saavedra Ceron, which sailed from Zihuatlan in November, 1527, were destined for the Spice Islands, and were lost on the way thither.¹

In 1532, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza sailed from Acapulco with two vessels. The one commanded by him was lost, and the other was thrown on the coast of Jalisco.²

In 1533, two other ships sailed from Tehuantepec. One of these, in charge of Hernando Grijalva, came in sight of the southern extremity of Lower California, and forthwith returned to New Spain. The other was commanded by Diego Becerra de Mendoza, a relative of Cortés. When at sea, the pilot, Fortuno Jimenez, murdered the captain, landed the two priests on the shores of Jalisco, and with the crew sailed as far as the harbor of La Paz in Lower California, where the natives surprised and killed him and twenty of his men. The remainder hastily returned to Chiametla in Sinaloa.³

bergantines en dicho puerto de Zacatula, y habiendose pegado fuego al almanen, todo se quemó." At all events, this first attempt resulted in nothing.

¹ The original authorities on the voyage of Saavedra Ceron are numerous, and it would carry me too far were I to refer to them here in detail. There are, for instance, in the fifth volume of Navarrete's *Coleccion de los Viajes y Descubrimientos* (pp. 440-476), not less than eleven original documents. Also in vol. xiv. of the *Documentos de Indias* (pp. 65 *et seq.*) there is the *Relacion o Derrotero de la Navegacion que hizo el Bergantin que salio de Zacatula en Nueva España, para descubrir la Costa del Mar del Sur, de Orden de Alvaro Sayavedra Ceron, Capitan General, y de Don Hernando Cortes, Gobernador del dicho Reyno, 1527.*

² Consult on the voyage in question: *Real Provis.on sobre Descubrimientos en el Mar del Sur, 1534*, in vol. ii. of *Doc. para la Historia de Mexico*, Ycazbalceta, p. 35 *et seq.* Francisco Lopez de Gomara, *Cronica General de las Indias*, ed. Vedia, vol. i. p. 423. Bernal Diez del Castillo, *Verdadera Historia de los Sucesos de la Conquista de la Nueva España.* Also in Vedia's *Historiadores Primitivos de Indias*, vol. ii. p. 291. Of course, Herrera, *Historia General*, Decada V. and VI.

³ See above. Also, *Relacion y Derrotero de una Armada de dos Navios, Concepcion, Capitana, y San Lazaro, que salio del Puerto de Santiago en el Mar del Sur, de Orden de Hernan Cortes, mandada por Grijalva y el Piloto Martin de Acosta, Portugues, a descubrir en el Mar del Sur, 1533*, in vol. xiv. of *Doc. de Indias*, p. 128 *et seq.* I merely enumerate some of the leading sources of information, the events not being strictly germane to the subject of this paper.

The expedition which Cortés commanded in person took place in the year 1534. It proved, however, rather sterile in results.¹

None of these expeditions increased the knowledge of the northern regions to any extent. And yet, in 1540, Cortés boldly asserted that he had informed Fray Marcos of Nizza of what the latter reported concerning the coast of Sonora and the Californian Gulf, accusing the friar of speaking about what he never saw. The text of the "Memorial" in which Cortés makes this strong imputation is even so ambiguous, that it may be construed as if Cortés had learned from Indians of Lower California what Fray Marcos afterwards reported upon New Mexico.² The documentary historian of

¹ There is a fair report on that expedition in Herrera, *Historia* (Decada V. vol. ii. p. 197 *et seq.*). The date of Cortés's departure is in Cavo, *Los Tres Siglos* (p. 79), although Herrera has it under date of 1535. Gomara (*Cronica*, p. 427) says: "Tomó tierra primero día de Mayo del año de 1536." But the great conqueror himself declares that his voyage to Lower California took place in 1534. *Memorial contra Don Antonio de Mendoza*, June 25, 1540. Therefore I adopt that date.

² Cortes, *Memorial* (quoted in the Introduction to vol. ii. of *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, by Sr. Garcia Ycazbalceta, p. xxviii.): "Y al tiempo que yo vine de la dicha tierra, el dicho Fr. Marcos hablo conmigo estando yo ya en la Nueva España, é yo le di noticia de esta dicha tierra y descubrimiento de ella, porque tenia determinacion de enviarlo en mis navios en proseguimiento y conquista de la dicha costa y tierra, porque parecia que se le entendia algo de cosas de navegacion: el cual dicho fraile lo comunicó con el dicho visorey, y con su licencia diz que fue por tierra en demanda de la misma costa y tierra que yo habia descubierto, y que era y es de mi conquista; y despues que volvio el dicho fraile ha publicado que diz que llevo a vista de la dicha tierra; la cual yo niego haber el visto ni descubierto, antes lo que el dicho fraile refiere haber visto, lo ha dicho y dice por sola la relacion que yo le habia hecho de la noticia que tenia de los Indios de la dicha tierra de Santa Cruz que yo truje, porque todo lo que el dicho fraile se dice que refiere, es lo mismo que los dichos Indios a mi me dijeron: y en haberse en esto adelantado el dicho Fr. Marcos fingiendo y refiriendo lo que no sabe ni vio, no hizo cosa neuva, porque otras y muchas veces lo ha hecho, y lo tiene por costumbre, como es notorio en las provincias del Peru y Guatemala, y se dara de ello informacion bastante luego en esta corte, siendo necesario." I intend to discuss these and similar accusations against Fray Marcos of Nizza in their place.

Mexico, Don Joaquin Garcia Ycazbalceta, very properly remarks on this: "The charge against Father Nizza is a grave one indeed, but it must be taken into account that it was for the interest of Cortés to affirm that what was known of those countries had become known through himself."¹ That the Indians of Lower California should have had some confused notions of Arizona and Western New Mexico is not unlikely, for they were in constant intercourse — Indian fashion, and through the Seris — with the natives of Central Sonora. It is also known that the Opatas of Sonora were not unacquainted with Zuñi.² But I have as yet no proof that in 1534 any information to that effect had been brought home by the Spaniards.

It is very difficult to prove clearly, or to disprove, that the natives of Central Mexico had knowledge of New Mexico previous to the coming of Europeans, and to the explorations of the latter region by the Spaniards. We cannot even determine whether the points mentioned in the various tales of migration which have been preserved include such as lay outside of the territory of the present States of Mexico. There has been no lack of honest effort in interpreting the geographical portions of myths as well as of pictographs; but nothing has been discovered thus far which might decide the question whether Central Mexican tribes ever knew the northern countries, and had preserved recollections of such knowledge. I say this from the standpoint of actual results, which may be modified in the future.

Under any circumstances, I will rather confess ignorance than stoop to speculations for which I lack the adequate

¹ *Ibid.* "Grave es el cargo contra el P. Nizza; pero debe tenerse en cuenta que á Cortes le convenia sostener que lo que se sabia de aquella tierra se sabia por él."

² I refer, on this point, to my *Discovery of New Mexico by Fray Marcos of Nizza*, in the September number, 1886, of the *Magazine of Western History*.

material; and in this matter of knowledge by southern peoples of regions in the distant North, with which they had no communication at the time of the Conquest, the ground is too insecure for me. The Seven Caves have been located at different places, not infrequently as far north as New Mexico; but as yet, so far as I am aware, no greater certainty has been reached than was attained three hundred years ago. The traditions of the so called "Aztecs," "Toltecs," "Chichimecs," and others, preserved to us by Ixtlilxochitl and variously expounded by many successive authorities, have not yet been sifted with the critical attention which they deserve. In fact, the true nature of an Indian tradition, the vehicles that convey it from generation to generation, the modifications to which it becomes subjected while exclusively in Indian hands,—these are material for careful study, which recent researches in New Mexico (and at Zuñi especially) have at last initiated. We are but on the threshold of American ethnology, and ethnology alone, considered as a "method of research," can supply a key to the maze of material which the Spaniards and their missionaries accumulated, or which they enabled the natives to render intelligible to a public accustomed to methods of commemoration highly in advance of any which the American Indian had ever conceived.¹

I do not reject the testimony of Indian sources, or myths and traditions, concerning the past of their race. They all have their positive value, but I hold that it is too early to judge of them yet. Whenever the Indian has written in Spanish, or in his native idiom with our letters, criticism may be applied judiciously; always allowing for the fact, that he was using a new art, the art of writing, — one which his

¹ In this latter class must be counted the numerous productions in Spanish, as well as in aboriginal idioms, on historical topics, but unaccompanied by pictorial signs, and dating from the sixteenth century mostly.

ancestors, his parents, he himself perhaps, at first, viewed with superstitious fear, as uncomprehended magic. In regard to the pictographs, it is certain that some of them were manufactured after the Conquest, not with the intention of fraud, but with a view to a compromise between the new method of recording and the old one, which the new teachers were loath to comprehend, and which they refused to adopt.¹ Of those among the pictographs which may be pre-conquistorial, the interpretation is as yet a battle-field. Where wise men differ so much, the unwise can but abide the time when they may perhaps agree.

I beg leave to call attention to only a few points which seem to be essential. One of these is the fact, that in none of the aboriginal calendars so far studied, in Mexico and Central America, do the tokens or symbols show any reminiscence of animals typical of the Fauna of the North. Taking the Mexican signs for the twenty days, for instance, we find but two symbols that do not correspond either to animals, plants, or elements found in the region, or to objects familiar everywhere (like water, rain, etc.) The two signs in controversy have not the slightest analogy with an idealized figure of the buffalo, the mountain sheep, the bear, or the mountain goat.² Neither is there any authentic trace of any knowledge or recollection of these very striking types among the aborigines of Mexico, previous to the earliest Spanish explorations.³

¹ The histories written in Nahuatl, for instance, and accompanied by pictographs; or the pictographs with a text in Nahuatl and some Spanish phrase incidentally.

² The only two signs concerning the meaning of which there is any doubt are Cipactli and Nahui Ollin. Neither of these two has the slightest or remotest analogy with any of the large mammals of the north. Cipactli is usually taken for a marine animal, and the other for some astronomical sign, or something of that sort.

³ About the story that a tame buffalo had been kept at Tezcuco by the Indians, it is hardly worth while to squander any time or space.

On the other hand, it is certain that at the present day the Nahuatl language has pervaded large portions of the northern States of the Mexican Republic. It appears in Chihuahua and in Sonora, in the shape of perverted dialects.¹ It may be said, that we do not know positively whether what is regarded as the pure language is not perhaps a refinement of the original idiom, resulting from greater stability and easier subsistence; but it is equally possible that the Nahuatl may have crept northward in consequence of Spanish advance, through crowds of servants and sporadic colonies, as was the case in New Mexico, where a number of Nahuatl words have become naturalized in this manner.²

Recent linguistic investigations, however, tend to prove that a certain bond exists, through language, between tribes inhabiting, even previously to the sixteenth century, portions of Colorado, Arizona, Chihuahua, Sonora, Durango, and so on to the South; the Nahuatl of Central Mexico forming but one link in a great chain extending from Oregon into Nicaragua.³ This is significant, and encourages us in the hope of finding among the myths and traditions of the South information concerning the North, and perhaps *vice versa*. How far the indications may prove to be of geographical value, is a matter beyond even surmise at the present time.

Certain myths, embodied in folk-lore tales and rituals of New Mexican tribes, find their counterpart in the mythology and traditional lore of Mexico and Central America. Thus the

¹ Compare Orozco y Berra, *Geografía de las Lenguas y Carta Etnográfica de Mexico*, 1864, especially the large number of local names in a Nahuatl more or less differentiated from that spoken in the valley of Mexico. See Part III., the chapters devoted to the northern States of Mexico.

² Such as Chalchihuitl, Tecolotl, Pichi-Cohuatl, Chiquihuitl, Xicara, and a number of others that have permeated Pueblo idioms even, and supplanted original terms in a measure.

³ In this I follow Mr. A. S. Gatschet in his *Classification into Seven Linguistic Stocks of Western Indian Dialects contained in Forty Vocabularies*, vol. vii. of Reports of the U. S. Geographical Survey, p. 408.

twin children of Zuñi, Mai-tza-la-ima and A-hui-uta,¹ represented in Tehua mythology by Tzi-o-ueno Ojua and Nana-katza-ma, in Queres rituals by Ma-se-ua and Oyo-yä-uä,² among the Navajos by Nagaynezgani and Thobadjischeni,³ find their analogues among the Quiché of Guatemala in Hunah-Pu and Xbalanqué.⁴ There are traces of a similar pair of hero-gods in Chihuahua.⁵ Still, it must not be forgotten that this myth is very widely spread over the American continent, that tribes still farther north preserve similar tales,⁶ and that the fact of its being found in a great number of places distant from each other rather indicates an ethnological instead of an historical feature. Instances of that kind might be multiplied without leading us to anything like certainty, or even probability. It is yet too early, — I repeat it, — to expect more than dim indications of the direction in which daylight on this obscure matter may appear at some future time.

Hence we cannot hope to discover that the Spaniards obtained any information touching distant northern countries among the Indians of Central Mexico. As a general rule, each tribe could only speak pertinently of the immediate surroundings of its range, and give information about its

¹ Compare F. H. Cushing, *Zuñi Fetiches*, Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 13 *et seq.*

² I have what I consider sufficient testimony to the effect that among the last mentioned two tribes the mythical figures named are the equivalents of the Zuñi twin children.

³ Dr. Washington Mathews, *Some Deities and Demons of the Navajos*, from the October number of the *American Naturalist*, vol. xx. Also, by the same author, *A Part of the Navajos' Mythology*, from the *American Antiquarian* of April, 1883.

⁴ Compare *Popul Vuh*, Part I., chap. 4 to 9, and Part II.

⁵ Gaspar Perez de Villagaran, *Historia de la Nueva Mexico*, 1610, Cantos I. and II.

⁶ David Cusick, *Ancient History of the Six Nations*, 1848, Parts I. and II. Erminnie A. Smith, *Myths of the Iroquois*, Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology. The analogy does not approach identity, still there is great resemblance.

nearest neighbors, or its most formidable enemies. Had the Spaniards, for instance, been in the slightest manner prepared for the leading types of the Northern Fauna, they would not have found it so difficult to picture to themselves those animals when first heard of, and the stories about Fray Marcos of Nizza mentioning camels and elephants in regions beyond Zuñi could not have found credence so easily.¹ The first news of "hunchback cows" was brought to Mexico by Cabeza de Vaca, and it is to his wonderful journey and its consequences that the section next following will be devoted.

¹ Fray Marcos never wrote anything of that sort, but his statements were so interpreted by the Spaniards, even by men of learning. Still, had he himself heard of the mountain sheep previously, he could not have given the strange description of a unicorn, as he understood it from Indians of the San Pedro valley in Southern Arizona. The Indians, when they showed him a large skin (probably several skins of mountain sheep sewed together), tried to make him understand the nature of the animal. Compare *Relacion del Descubrimiento de las Siete Ciudades* (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. iii. p. 341): "Aqui en este valle, me truxeren un cuero, tanto y medio mayor que de una gran vaca, y me dixerón ques de un animal, que tiene solo un cuerno en la frente y queste cuerno es corbo hacia los pechos, y que de alli sale una punta derecha, en la cual dicen que tiene tanta fuerza, que ninguna cosa, por recia que sea, dexa de romper, si topa con ella; y dicen que hay muchos animales destos en aquella tierra; la color del cuero es á manera de cabron y el pelo tan largo como el dedo." This is plainly a description of the mountain sheep, but misunderstood by Fray Marcos, who had never seen the animal nor heard of it. In regard to "camels and elephants," the letter of Fray Jerónimo Ximenez de San Estéban, *Carta á Santo Tomás de Villanueva*, October 9, 1539 (in Ycazbalceta's *Nueva Coleccion de Documentos*, 1886, p. 195) enlightens us: "Tambien dicen que en la tierra mas adentro hay camellos y elefantes."

II.

ALVAR NUÑEZ CABEZA DE VACA, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF HIS WANDERINGS FROM THE MEXICAN GULF TO THE SLOPE OF THE PACIFIC FOR SPANISH EXPLORATIONS TOWARDS NEW MEXICO AND ARIZONA.

IT is not my purpose here to dwell at great length on the ill-fated expedition which, commanded by Pamphilo de Narvaez, left San Lucar de Barrameda in Spain in June, 1527, landed in Florida, and was almost completely destroyed by storms, through the hostility of Indians, hunger, and disease, within three years after its departure from the Spanish shores.¹ That tragedy has been written and rewritten by pens much abler than mine, and all I can attempt here is to present again, in another form and with some additional details, an account of the journey made by Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions, from some point in Louisiana west of the Mississippi River to Sonora on the Pacific slope, and to

¹ It is of course impossible to be precise. The reports of the four survivors are the only source of information on the ultimate fate of the expedition. The expedition landed on the coast of Florida on Good Friday of 1528. Oviedo, *Historia General*, lib. xxxv. cap. 1, p. 583. Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, *Naufragios y Jornada que hizo a la Florida*. I have not the original book, which was published at Valladolid in 1555, and therefore quote the reprint by Vedia, entitled *Historiadores primitivos de Indias*, vol. i. p. 518, cap. 3. Narvaez was probably drowned. Oviedo, *Historia*, vol. iii. p. 590. When Cabeza de Vaca fell in with his companions, five years had elapsed. *Ibid.*, p. 601: "Que avia cinco años que lo avian dexado atras, donde se perdieron las barcas, que nunca mas lo avian visto." Cabeza de Vaca, *Naufragios*, cap. xvi. p. 529: "Fueron casi seis años el tiempo que yo estuve en esta tierra, solo entre ellos y desnudo, como todos andaban." This brings the dispersion of the expedition, and the reduction of its numbers to a very few men, to about 1530.

present it with special reference to the geographical and other information which the wanderers conveyed to Mexico. This will involve also a discussion of the question whether Cabeza de Vaca really discovered New Mexico or not. I may as well state here, that the result of the latter inquiry will be negative,—that I shall prove that Cabeza de Vaca and his companions never trod the soil of New Mexico, nor brought to New Spain direct information touching the Pueblo Indians of that territory. The negro Estevan, or Estevanico, was the only one of the four who, three years later, entered upon New Mexican territory. But he lost his life there at that time, and what became known of the country afterwards, and led to Coronado's remarkable explorations, is due, not to the ambitious and ill-advised African, but to Fray Marcos of Nizza.¹

Not much is known of Cabeza de Vaca beyond his career in America, which was remarkably eventful and romantic. It is stated, however, that he was a native of Xerez de la Frontera in Spain, and that previous to the expedition of Pamphilo de Narvaez he was living at Seville.² He accompanied Nar-

¹ Compare my publications on the subject, to which I shall refer in detail later. I hope to be forgiven for referring to these essays of mine, which have been of great service to me in the preparation of the present monograph. They were written, one in 1885, the other in the summer of the year following. They had been preceded by a publication on the same subject in part, and in the German language, entitled *Cibola*, which the Sunday edition of the *New Yorker Staatszeitung* printed in May, June, July, and October of 1885, and in January, February, and March of 1886.

² Researches in Spain could alone reveal something concerning the early youth of Cabeza de Vaca, or concerning the later period of his life. There is at my command merely the biographical notice in Vedia (*Historiadores primitivos de Indias*, 1852, vol. i. p. xviii *et seq.*), the statements of Oviedo (*Historia*, vol. iii. p. 618), and those of Ternaux-Compans in his translation of the *Naufragios* entitled, *Relation et Naufrages d'Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca*, 1837 (Introduction). The biographical details are in another translation by the same, entitled, *Commentaires d'Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca* (p. 3). As a specimen of the unreliability of Ternaux, I quote his statement, "Alvar Nuñez embrassa le métier des armes." Everything proves rather the contrary.

vaez in the quality of treasurer, quite a responsible office, which shows that he was at that time already a person of some consideration, or at least able to give a satisfactory account of himself.¹ After his almost miraculous return to Mexico, he went to Spain, in 1537, and was there appointed "Adelantado" of the newly occupied regions of Paraguay. Proceeding thither in 1540, he found himself soon in open conflict with other officers. The disagreement became so bitter, that he was finally arrested by some of his subordinates, and forcibly dragged to Spain, where, however, he was set free in the end, and even allowed a pension of two thousand ducats. It seems he retired to Seville, where, if Enrique de Vedia is correctly informed, he lived to the end of his days.²

¹ The fact that he was treasurer of Narvaez's corps is everywhere stated. I only refer here to one original document, the *Relacion del Viaje de Panfilo de Narvaez al Rio de las Palmas hasta de la Punta de Florida, hecha por el Tesorero Cabeza de Vaca* (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. xiv. p. 265). The report proper is preceded by a royal decree to Cabeza de Vaca, in which he is styled by the King "nuestro factor del Rio de las Palmas e tierra que va a poblar Panfilo de Narvaez, a quien habemos proveido de la governacion della."

² On his career in Paraguay there is ample material in Oviedo, Herrera, and Gomara. In addition to these, there is Cabeza de Vaca's own statement, printed in 1555, under the title of *Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, Adelantado y Gobernador del Rio de la Plata* (reprint in Vedia, vol. i.). The statement about the latter days of Cabeza de Vaca is from Vedia, *Historiadores primitivos* (p. xxi): "Fué tambien condenado Alvar Nunez á privacion de oficio y a seis años de destierro en Oran, con seis lanzas; apeló, y en revista salió libre, señalándole dos mil ducados de pension en Sevilla. Retiróse á aquella ciudad, en la cual falleció ejerciendo la primacia del consulado con mucha honra y quietud de su persona, ignorandose el año de su muerte." The Consulate of Seville was quite a responsible office. It consisted of a "Prior" and one consul, who were annually elected by those who traded with the Indies, freighters and ship-owners. Their duty was to regulate and superintend the fitting out of vessels, their cargo, and the trading with America in general. The election took place annually. It was therefore an honorable office, but not a permanent position. Compare in *Recopilacion de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*, 2d ed., 1756, vol. iii. lib. ix. título vi. Ternaux-Compans, in his Preface to *Commentaires* (p. 3), also says he died at Seville, where he exercised the functions of auditor. He quotes Nicolas de Techo, *Historia Paraquariæ*, lib. i. cap. xiv. adding, "J'ignore si ce renseignement est bien exact."

The year of his demise I cannot ascertain as yet, but it was certainly later than 1564.¹

In regard to Cabeza de Vaca's personal character, the opinions of older writers differ; still it is noteworthy that the leading chroniclers, Herrera, Oviedo, and Gomara, speak well of him.² Were I to formulate a judgment, I would qualify him as a well-intentioned man, rather visionary, ready for any personal sacrifice, but out of place at the head of an expeditionary corps. It was probably injudicious to intrust Cabeza de Vaca, who had never been a military man, with such a difficult position as the one he occupied in Paraguay. On the other hand, it is clear that the Crown desired to reward him for all the hardships and sufferings he had gone through in North America. But the position with which he was rewarded was above his ability, and, like a great many others, his failure to perform what he was incompetent to undertake put an end to his career. It is stated that he was at first sentenced to banishment at Oran. The fact that this sentence was cancelled, and that he was completely absolved, tends to show that he was rather a victim than a

¹ I infer this from the Introduction to the *Commentaires* (p. 5): "Trente-sept ans se sont écoulés depuis cette longue et périlleuse expédition de la Floride, durant laquelle Dieu à répandu sur moi des grâces innombrables et si extraordinaires." If he counts the thirty-seven years from the beginning of the expedition, 1527, it brings the date of writing his commentaries to 1564; if from the termination or his arrival at Mexico, he must have been alive yet in 1573. In 1536 he was already of mature age, for he says (*Naufragios*, p. 544): "A ellos [his three companions] se les hizo mal esto, excusandose por el cansancio y trabajo; y aunque cada uno de ellos lo pudiera hacer mejor que yo, por ser mas recios y mas mozos."

² It would require too much space to quote in detail. I merely refer to these authors, and cite here also a writer who speaks strongly against Cabeza de Vaca and his character. This is one of his own soldiers, a German, Ulrich Schmiedel, of Straubing. His book, of which I have but the French translation, under the title, *Histoire Véritable d'un Voyage curieux fait par Ulrich Schmiedel de Straubing dans l'Amérique ou le Nouveau Monde*, 1837, is in the Ternaux-Compans collection. He was a soldier under Cabeza de Vaca, of whose haughtiness and inefficiency he complains bitterly. See cap. xxxix., xl.

cause of the disorders which occurred in Paraguay during his administration.

Of the three companions of Cabeza de Vaca on the eventful wanderings to the Pacific slope, much less is known. Andrés Dorantes was a native of Bejar. Alonso del Castillo Maldonado was a native of Salamanca. Estevan was not a Moor, but a negro, "an Arab negro," says Cabeza de Vaca himself, "native of Azamor."¹

[These four men may be considered as the sole survivors of a considerable expeditionary corps destined for the conquest and settlement of Florida. Cast on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, captured by Indians, they came together again, after a separation of nearly six years, on the coast of Eastern Texas. Previous to their meeting, they had had the most varied experiences with the roving bands of Indians of Western Louisiana and of that part of Texas bordering upon it. Cabeza de Vaca, at first roughly used by the savages, finally became a pedler, and penetrated into the interior, that is, towards the Red River of Louisiana. On these excursions he saw the "hunchback cows," as he terms the buffalo in his report, or "Relation."²

¹ *Naufragios*, p. 548. Oviedo (*Historia*, vol. iii. p. 618) makes an Arab of him: "El quarto se llama Estevanico, de color, negro, alarabe, natural de Açamor, en Africa."

² *Naufragios*, p. 529: "E ya con mis tratos y mercaderias entraba la tierra adentro todo lo que queria, y por luengo de costa me alargaba cuarenta ó cincuenta leguas." *Ibid.*, p. 532: "Alcanzan aqui vacas, y yo las he visto tres veces y comido de ellas, y paresceme que seran del tamaño de las de España; tienen los cuernos pequeños, como moriscas, y el pelo muy largo, merino, como una bernia; unas son pardillas, y otras negras, y a mi parescer tienen mejor y mas gruesa carne que las de aca. De las que no son grandes hacen los Indios mantas para cubrirse, y de las mayores hacen zapatos y rodela; estas vienen de hacia el norte por la tierra adentro hasta la costa de la Florida, y tiendense por toda la tierra mas de cuatrocientas leguas; y en todo este camino, por los valles por donde ellas vienen, bajan las gentes que por alli habitan y se mantienen de ellas, y meten en la tierra grande cantidad de cueros." That the buffalo descended to very near the coast of Texas is also proved by Cavelier, *Relation du Voyage*

Cabeza de Vaca appears to have been a successful trader. He exchanged the products of the sea-coast, shells, shell-beads, etc., for flint-flakes, red clay, hides and skins, and other products of the regions inland.¹ What proved to be of greater ultimate value to him was that he became acquainted with the Indian practice of medicine, he saw how the sorcerer or medicine-man treated the sick, and he certainly acquired a practical knowledge of a number of useful

entrepris par feu Mr. Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, pour découvrir dans le Golfe du Mexique, l'Embouchure du Fleuve de Mississippi, published by Mr. Shea in 1858, pp. 11-14: "Car on fit ensuite monter le vaisseau à l'entrée d'une rivière à laquelle on donna le nom de Vache, à cause qu'on y trouva quantité de ces animaux." This was on the Rio Lavaca, near Matagorda Bay. Daniel Coxe, *A Description of the English Province of Carolana, by the Spaniards called Florida, and by the French la Louisiane, as also of the great and famous River Meschacebe or Mississippi* (*Historical Collections of Louisiana*, French, vol. i. p. 226): "When you are ascended the river four or five leagues, when you come out of the agreeable shade, you see a most beautiful country, only about six or eight miles distant, in which meadows the wild bulls and kine, besides other beasts, graze, and in the heat of the day retire into these woods for shelter, where they chew the cud." The followers of Hernando de Soto, although they reached the rim of the plains west of the Mississippi and the buffalo country proper, did not see the animal itself. Luis Hernandez de Bidema, *Relacion de la Isla de Florida* (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. iii. p. 438): "Tomamos otra guia, que nos llevo a una provincia, que se llama Hais, donde suelen acudir a tiempos algunas vacas; y como los indios nos vieron entrar por su tierra, comenzaron apellidar que matasen las vacas que venian, y salieronnos a flechar e hicieronnos algun daño." The name Hais recalls the tribe of the Ayays or Ays, about the Red River country and Eastern Texas, as well as the central part of that state. Finally, Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, 1758, vol. ii. p. 67: "On va à la chasse de cet animal dans l'hyver, et on s'écarte de la Basse Louisiane et du Fleuve S. Louis, parce qu'il ne peut y pénétrer, à cause de l'épaisseur des Bois, et que d'ailleurs il aime la grande herbe qui ne se trouve que dans les Prairies des terres hautes."

¹ *Naufragios*, cap. xvi. p. 529: "Lo principal de mi trato era pedazos de caracoles de la mar, y corazones de ellos y conchas, con que ellos cortan una fruta que es como frisoles, con que se curan y hacen sus bailes y fiestas; y esta es la cosa de mayor precio que entre ellos hay, y cuentas de la mar y otras cosas. Así, esto era lo que yo llevaba la tierra adentro; y en cambio y trueco de ello traía cueros y almagre, con que ellos se untan y tiñen las caras y cabellos; pedernales para puntas de flechas, engrudo y cañas duras para hacerlas, y unas borlas que se hacen de pelos de venados, que las tiñen y paran coloradas."

substances which the savages employed in a purely empirical way.¹

That the sufferings of the four castaways were almost superhuman during this time cannot be doubted. We must remember, that they were among savages, and in a region which those savages visited but temporarily, shifting their abodes according to season in quest of the vegetable and animal products which each season yielded.² Nowhere, as long as

¹ Already on the island to which Cabeza de Vaca has given the name of Mal Hado, the Indians attempted to persuade the Spaniards to become physicians. *Naufragios*, p. 528: "En aquella isla que he contado nos quisieron hacer fisicos sin examinarnos ni pedirnos los titulos, porque ellos curan las enfermedades soplando al enfermo, con aquel soplo y las manos echan de el la enfermedad, y mandaronnos que hiciesemos lo mismo y sirviesemos en algo; nosotros nos reiamos de ello, diciendo que era burla y que no sabiamos curar, y por esto nos quitaban la comida hasta que hiciesemos lo que nos decian. Y viendo nuestra porfia, un indio me dijo a mi que yo no sabia lo que decia en decir que no aprovecharia nada aquello que el sabia, ca las piedras y otras cosas que se crian por los campos tienen virtud; y que el con una piedra caliente, trayendola por el estomago, sanaba y quitaba el dolor, y que nosotros, que eramos hombres, cierto era que teniamos mayor virtud y poder." This remark is characteristic of the Indian. A magic power, similar to the virtues of the plants, etc., is attributed to man only because he is a higher being, and therefore supposed to have more magic force naturally.

² *Naufragios*, p. 528: "Y como el tiempo que aqui estuvimos murio tanta gente de ellos, en las casas habia muy gran hambre, por guardar tambien su costumbre y cerimonia; y los que lo buscaban, por mucho que trabajaban, por ser el tiempo tan recio, no podian haber sino muy poco; y por esta causa los indios que a mi me tenian salieron de la isla, y en unas canoas se pasaron a Tierra firme, a unas bahias adonde tenian muchos ostiones, y tres meses del año no comen otra cosa, y beben muy mala agua. . . . Y así estuvimos hasta en fin de abril, que fuimos a la costa del mar, a do comimos moras de zarzas todo el mes." *Ibid.*, p. 532: "Cuando fueron cumplidos los seis meses que yo estuve con los cristianos esperando a poner en efecto el concierto que teniamos hecho, los indios se fueron a las tunas, que habia de alli donde las habian de coger hasta treinta leguas." Oviedo, *Historia*, p. 601: "Esta gente, despues que viene el verano, en fin de mayo comen algun pescado, si les ha quedado de lo que escalan de los rios avenidos; e comienca a caminar para comer las tunas, ques una fructa que en aquella tierra hay en abundancia, e van mas de quarenta leguas adelante hacia Panuco a comerlas." I might multiply evidences, but as they all prove the same thing, namely, the erratic life led by the natives, I abstain from further quotations.

they found themselves in the quadrangle bounded by the Gulf on the south, the Mississippi on the east, the Red River on the north, and the Trinity River on the west, did they come in contact with agricultural people. Of what use, therefore, could the emaciated Spaniards prove to their hosts and masters? These masters needed no help to till the land, and the Spaniards were indifferent warriors without their own weapons, very poor hunters with the bow and the arrow, and inexperienced fishermen. Besides, the numerous bands were often at loggerheads, sometimes hereditary enemies. In trying to improve their lot by deserting one horde and fleeing to another, the fugitives frequently exchanged indifference and toleration for brutal abuse.¹

Cabeza de Vaca did not advance as far west as his companions in misfortune until nearly seven years after the first landing of the ill-fated expedition. His circumstances, through his trading as well as through the experience he acquired of Indian character and habits, had become at least endurable. Wandering towards the Texan coast, he succeeded in meeting the other three at a point some distance inland, whither the Indians were wont to go in order to gather and eat the fruit of the prickly-pear, or Tuna. It seems that the four had heard of each other at times, but never had it been possible for them all to meet, as the Indians were wary and kept them apart. Thus Andrés Dorantes had been alone for ten months, and Castillo and the negro apart from him. Finally, the three met, and at last also rejoined Cabeza de Vaca. This was in September, 1534, and west of the Sabine River in Texas.² Once together,

¹ Therefore the significant remark (*Naufragios*, p. 528), "Y mandaronnos que hiciesemos lo mismo y *serviesemos en algo*." (Italics are mine.) In regard to the sufferings of the poor Spaniards, they are told at great length both by Cabeza de Vaca and the joint report contained in Oviedo. It would require too much space to detail them here.

² Cabeza de Vaca had with him a companion, Lope de Oviedo, but he left him

they began to form plans for their escape, which plans they were able to carry out ten months later. They fled to another horde, that spoke a different language, in the month of August of 1535, and thence started on their peregrination. A few days after, while with some Indians who were gathering tunas, they came upon a little band of natives, who, not having anything to eat themselves, gave them to understand that farther on they would meet with a considerable horde which

soon, and thenceforward Cabeza de Vaca remained alone among the Indians for some time. It was during this time that he began to peddle and to trade, and this improved his position with the natives. *Naufraios*, p. 529: "Y por esto yo puse en obra de pasarme a los otros, y con ellos me sucedio algo mejor; y porque me hize mercader, procure de usar el oficio lo mejor que supe, y por esto ellos me daban de comer y me hacian buen tratamiento y rogábanme que me fuese de unas partes a otras por cosas que ellos habian menester; porque por razon de la guerra que continuo traen, en la tierra no se anda ni se contrata. . . . Y este oficio me estaba a mi bien, porque andando en el tenia libertad para ir donde queria, y no era obligado a cosa alguna, y no era esclavo, y donde quiera que iba me hacian buen tratamiento y me daban de comer, por respecto de mis mercaderias, y lo mas principal porque andando en ello, y buscando por donde me habia de ir adelante, y entre ellos era muy conocido: holgaban mucho cuando me veian y les traia lo que habian menester, y los que no me conocian me procuraban y deseaban ver, por mi fama." In regard to the matter of meeting, the two sources agree in the main. I select from the joint report as given in Oviedo, *Historia*, vol. iii. p. 601: "Alli en aquellas tunas se tornaron á juntar Castillo y el negro é Andres Dorantes, é se concertaron para se yr: é como los indios nunca sosegaban ni estaban juntos, luego se yban cada uno por su parte, é assi de nescessidad estos pecadores de chripstianos se apartaban con sus amos. De forma que no podian efectuar su concierto é voluntad (á lo menos por estonces) é cada uno se fue por su parte con sus señores á comer aquellas nueces, que avia muchas aquel año; pero llegados alli, vino Cabeça de Vaca á se juntar con essotros, que avia cinco años que lo avian dexado atras, donde se perdieron las barcas, que nunca mas lo avian visto: é alli se concertaron despues que Cabeça de Vaca lleo porque como es dicho estaban apartados é no se podian comunicar sino en el tiempo de las tunas, aviendo que comer en el campo: y estonces, estando muchas veces á punto para se yr, no parecia sino que sus pecados se lo estorbaban, apartandolos á cada uno por su parte. Pasados ya seys años, é venia en el septimo año el tiempo de aquella fructa de las tunas, aunque cada uno destos chripstianos estaban apartados por si, cada qual dellos escondidamente se fueron é aportaron la tierra adentro á cierta parte donde solian comer las tunas; é los indios no yban alli estonces porque no las avia. Y el Dorantes fue el primero que alli lleo, é acaso hallo una gente de indios que aquel mesmo dia avian alli venido, los quales eran grandes enemigos de los

was plentifully supplied with food. At nightfall the Christians indeed fell in with a camp of forty to fifty huts, and their inmates approached the new-comers with signs bidding them to cure the sick among their number through friction. The Spaniards had observed that process before, and to humor their hosts they proceeded to imitate it. To these manipulations they added the sign of the cross, and also breathed upon the sick, "and the Indians instantly felt relieved."¹

otros con quienes avian estos chripstianos estado, é rescibieronle muy bien ; é á cabo de tres ó quatro dias que alli estaba, llevo el negro que yba en su rastro, é Alonso del Castillo, que estaban juntos, é alli se concertaron de buscar a Cabeça de Vaca, que los esperaba adelante. É vieron unos humos bien lexos, é acordaron que Dorantes y el negro fuessen á aquel humo, é quel Castillo quedasse alli para asegurar los indios é que no creyessen que se yban : é dixeronles que yban por otro compañero suyo, que creian estaba en aquellos humos, para lo traer alli á su compañía, é que se quedasse Castillo hasta que volviesen. Y ellos holgaron dello, y assi fueron é tovieron bien que andar hasta la noche, que toparon con un indio que los llevo adonde Cabeça de Vaca estaba, é plugo á Dios que los indios se mudaron otro dia é se pusieron mas cerca de donde el Castillo avia quedado, é alli se tornaron á juntar." Cabeza de Vaca (in *Naufragios*, p. 533) intimates that he knew of the vicinity of the other three ; for the remainder he confirms the joint report : "Y á 13 dias del mes llegaron adonde yo estaba Andres Dorantes y Estebanico, y dijeronme como dejaban á Castillo con otros indios que se llamaban anagados, y que estaban cerca de alli, y que habian mucho trabajo, y que habian andado perdidos, y que otro dia adelante nuestros indios se mudaron hacia donde Castillo estaba, y iban á juntarse con los que lo tenian, y hacerse amigos unos de otros, porque hasta alli habian tenido guerra, y de esta manera cobramos á Castilla." The date is fixed by the joint report in Oviedo, *Historia*, pp. 602, 603. The meeting took place late in the fall. "É como era ya principio del invierno, é las tunas se acababan en los campos con que avian de caminar, tovieron nescessidad de pasar alli aquel año, para aver algunos cueros con que se cubrir, que les decian que los hallarian adelante : é pues estaban en camino é donde tenian mejor aparejo para quel siguiente año, venidas las tunas, pudiessen proseguir su propositio, sosegaron por estonces dende primero de octubre hasta el mes de agosto del año venidero." That "año venidero" was 1535, since in the year following they reached Culiacan ; so the meeting must have taken place in September, 1534. As to the part of Texas where it occurred, it may be inferred from the subsequent statements on the number of streams which they had to cross. It will be seen further on that they crossed four rivers, and that these were the Trinity, Brazos, Colorado, and Rio Grande ; hence the meeting must have taken place west of the Sabine and east of the Trinity, or in Southeastern Texas.

¹ Oviedo, *Historia*, p. 603 : "Llegado el mes de Agosto, ya estos tres hidalgos

From this moment a new career lay open before the castaways; from wandering beggars and slaves among barbarous

tenian allegados algunos cueros de venados, é quando vieron tiempo aparejado, huyeron con el tiento é secreto que les convino de la parte é indios ques dicho de susso." Cabeza de Vaca (*Naufragios*, p. 533) gives the name of the tribe to which they fled: "Estos tienen otra lengua y llamanse avavares, y son aquellos que solian llevar los arcos á los nuestros y iban á contratar con ellos; y aunque son de otra nacion y lengua, entienden la lengua de aquellos con quien antes estabamos, y aquel mismo dia habian llegado allá con sus casas." They were not pursued, for, says Oviedo, *Historia*, p. 603: "E otro dia se mudaron é se vinieron assi adelante á se juntar con otros indios, é los llevaron consigo, é yban á comer los unos é los otros unos granillos que estonces maduraban; é hay por alli muy grandes montes de arboledas que llevaban essa fructa. É alli se juntaron con los otros, é los chripstianos se passaron á ellos, porque era gente de mas acá adelante é mas á proposito de su camino é intento." They were then already determined upon pushing westward.

There is a discrepancy here between the statements of Cabeza de Vaca and the joint report in Oviedo. The former says, *ut supra*, that there already they were called upon by the Indians to cure their sick, whereas the latter speaks of it as having happened only ten or twelve days later, and among a different band. "É allá fue donde primero començaran á temer é reverenciar á estos pocos chripstianos é á tenerlos en mucho, é allegabanse á ellos é fregabanlos é fregabanse á si mesmos, é decian por señas á los chripstianos que los fregassen é frotassen é los curassen, é los chripstianos lo hacian assi, aunque estaban mas acostumbrados á trabaxos que á hacer miraglos. Pero en virtud de Dios confiados, santiguandolos é soplandoles (de la manera que la hacen en Castilla aquellos que llaman saludadores). *É los indios en el momento sentian mejoría en sus enfermedades; é dabanles de lo que tenían de comer.*" (The Italics are my own.)

About the treatment or manipulations performed by the four untrained doctors Cabeza de Vaca says (*Naufragios*, p. 528): "La manera con que nosotros curamos era santiguandolos y soplarlos, y rezar un Pater Noster y un Ave Maria, y rogar lo mejor que podiamos á Dios nuestro Señor que les diese salud, y esperarse en ellos que nos hiciesen algun buen tratamiento." That they added some other methods peculiar to the Indian practice of medicine can hardly be doubted, for the narrator in particular is too well informed on that subject not to have put in practice some of his knowledge. Compare, for instance, on same page (cap. xv.): "La manera que ellos tienen en curarse es esta: que en viendose enfermos, llaman un medico, y despues de curado, no solo le dan todo lo que poseen, mas entre sus parientes buscan cosas para darle. Lo que el medico hace es dalle unas sajas adonde tiene el dolor, y chupanles al derredor de ellas. Dan cauterios de fuego, que es cosa entre ellos tenida por muy provechosa, y yo le he *experimentado, y me suscedio bien de ello* [Italics mine]: y despues de esto soplan aquel lugar que les duele, y con esto creen que se les quita el mal." Even the breathing was an Indian remedy.

hordes, they became powerful medicine-men, who henceforth commanded those at whose mercy they had been so long.¹

This being the fourth time that I discuss the story of Cabeza de Vaca's wanderings, I may be permitted to transcribe here what, on a previous occasion and in a different tongue, I have written on the subject of the strange cures which he and his fellow travellers claim to have performed:—

“According to the pious tendencies of the time, Cabeza de Vaca ascribes the numerous cures performed by him and his friends to some miraculous intervention from above. The truth of this modest interpretation I have not to discuss here. Whatever may be the opinion of each one on this point, and although there is hardly any doubt that the number and gravity of the cases may have been, unconsciously, exaggerated, there is no reason to doubt the fact of the influential position thereby afforded to the Spaniards as supposed physicians, and of the great importance this position had during their subsequent journeyings. It is easy to become a doctor and a wizard among Indians. Whatever the latter fails to comprehend appears to him as supernatural, and he attributes it to some occult cause, either good or bad. In the course of five years which I spent among the tribes of the Southwest, among the sedentary tribes as well as among nomads, I have often been called upon to assist patients, and the simplest advice, the most commonplace remedy which had

¹ This was very natural, it being a general custom among the Indians to reward well the successful medicine-man. Cabeza de Vaca says so himself, *Naufragios*, p. 528. It is needless to quote here in regard to the fact, that henceforth the Indians showed them the greatest attention, bordering upon superstitious fear. Cabeza de Vaca says (p. 533), speaking in general: “Luego el pueblo nos ofrecio muchas tunas, porque ya ellos tenian noticia de nosotros y como curabamos, y de las maravillas que nuestro Señor con nosotros obraba, que, aunque no hubiera otras, harto grand eseran abrírnos caminos per tierra tan despoblada, y darnos gente por donde muchos tiempos no la habia, y librarnos de tantos peligros, y no permitir que nos matasen, y sustentarnos con tanta hambre, y poner aquellas gentes en corazon que nos tratasen bien, como adelante diremos.”

a salutary effect, at once procured to me a practice, — which I dropped as soon as possible. For, with the Indian, there is but one step from the successful medicine-man to the sorcerer, who kills and is killed in expiation; and a single unsuccessful treatment may have the gravest results for him who has undertaken the cure.”¹

[Cabeza de Vaca and his friends had no faith in their own skill and knowledge, but they were driven to the wall, and must either attend to the patients thrust upon them, or bear the most serious consequences of their refusal. They submitted to the inevitable, and attributed the good results to Divine Providence.² There is something touchingly modest in this humility. But in proportion as their success became more marked, the idea dawned upon them to make use of the ascendancy they were acquiring over their Indian hosts; not, as has been stated, for the purpose of gathering wealth, which did not exist in the country and was least of all to be obtained among savages; but for the purpose of inducing these savages to assist them in getting out of the country, and if possible to Mexico.³

¹ *La Découverte du Nouveau Mexique, par le Moine Franciscain Frère Marcos de Nice en 1539* (*Revue d'Ethnographie*, 1886, p. 40).

² *Historia*, vol. iii. p. 603. *Naufragios*, p. 533.

³ *Naufragios*, p. 533: “Y duro la fiesta tres dias por haber nosotros venido, y al cabo de ellos les preguntamos por la tierra de adelante, y por la gente que en ella habia.” *Ibid.*, p. 541: “A estos dijimos que queriamos ir á la puesta del sol, y ellos respondieron que por alli estaba la gente muy lejos, y nosotros mandabamos que enviassen á hacerles saber que nosotros ibamos alli, y de esto se escusaron estos lo mas que ellos podian. . . . Mas no osaron hacer otra cosa, y asi, enviaron dos mujeres, una suya, y otra que de ellos tenian captiva; y enviaron estas porque las mugeres pueden contratar aunque haya guerra; y nosotros las seguimos, y paramos en un lugar donde estaba concertado que las esperasemos; mas ellas tardaron cinco dias; y los Indios decian que no debian de hallar gente. Dijimosles que nos llevasen hacia el norte, respondieron de la misma manera, diciendo que por alli no habia gente sino muy lejos, y que no habia que comer ni se hallaba agua; y con todo esto, nosotros porfiamos y dijimos que por alli queriamos ir, y ellos todavia se excusaban de la mejor manera

This thought was evolved but slowly, and in the mean time they continued shifting their abode, in company with the Indians; also moving from one horde to another occasionally, in their new rôle of great "medicine-men," following the coast at some distance, and travelling as nearly as possible to the west. In this manner they unconsciously drifted away from the sea-shore, since the coast of Texas, from the mouth of Trinity River on, bends around to the south, describing almost an arc of a circle.

They now came in sight of "mountains," among which there was a chain that seemed to run directly to the north. They had already crossed one river, now another one lay in their path; yet they were not very far from the coast, since the Indians living near the foot of the mountains sent for the coast people to come and witness the wonders performed by the new-comers.¹ They also judged that mountain range to

que podian, y por esto nos enojamos, y yo me sali una noche á dormir en el campo, apartado de ellos; mas luego fueron donde yo estaba, y toda la noche estuvieron sin dormir y con mucho miedo y hablandome y diciendome cuan atemorizados estaban, rogandonos que no estuviésemos mas enojados, y que aunque ellos supiesen morir en el camino, nos llevarian por donde nosotros quisiésemos ir; y como nosotros todavia fingiamos estar enojados y porque su miedo no se quitase, sucedió un caso estraño, y fue que este dia mesmo adolecieron muchos de ellos, y otro dia siguiente murieron ocho hombres. Por toda la tierra donde esto se supo hobieron tanto miedo de nosotros, que parecia en vernos que de temor habian de morir." This is quite in keeping with the Indian character. Such superstition is very common, and the examples are very numerous where a circumstance of this kind, a striking coincidence, has completely cowed a whole tribe for a time. Touching the matter of presents, Cabeza de Vaca says (p. 540): "Y de todo ello nosotros tomabamos un poco, y lo otro dabamos al principal de la gente que con nosotros venia, mandandole que lo repartiese entre todos."

¹ Until then, they had not seen any mountains. Cabeza de Vaca, *Naufragios*, p. 533: "No vimos sierra en toda ella tanto que en ella estuvimos." From Oviedo, (*Historia*, vol. iii. p. 605,) it would seem that they saw these "mountains" in September: "Cerca de alli estaban las sierras, é se parecia una cordillera dellas que atravessaba la tierra derechamente al norte; é de alli los llevaron á estos chripstianos otras cinco leguas adelante, hasta un rio que estaba al pie de la punta donde començaba la dicha sierra. . . . É luego aquella

be no farther from the sea than about fifteen leagues.¹ After proceeding northward for some distance (eighty leagues), they turned to the west.² Here the Indians gave them a few cotton mantles and a brass (?) rattle or bell, and here again they had a river to cross. The mantles and the bell (so the Indians stated) had come to them from the north. In the mountains they found trees covered with edible nuts.³

noche enviaron á llamar gente abaxo hacia la mar, y el dia siguiente vinieron muchos hombres é mugeres á ver estos christianos é sus miraglos, é á traerles cosas que les dieron."

¹ *Naufragios*, p. 539: "Aqui empezamos á ver sierras, y parescia que venian seguidas de hacia el Mar del Norte, por la relacion que los Indios de esto nos diéron, creemos que estan quince leguas de la mar." The expression "Mar del Norte" refers, not to the North, but to the Atlantic Ocean, and it is an open question yet whether the ridges did not perhaps run east and west, in place of from north to south as the statement in the preceding note would indicate. The terms Norte, Sur, as often indicate the East and the West, in old documents, as they do the other two cardinal points.

² These details are from the joint report in *Historia*, p. 606: "E desta manera fueron por la halda de la Sierra ochenta leguas, poco mas ó menos, entrando por la tierra adentro derecho al Norte; é alli toparon al pie de la sierra quatro ranchos de otra nascion é lengua, que decian que eran de mas allá la tierra adentro, é que yban de camino para su tierra, . . . é otro dia se metieron por la sierra hacia el Hueste ó Poniente." The *Naufragios* (p. 540) states: "Y de aqui por la halda de la sierra nos fuimos metiendo por la tierra adentro mas de cincuenta leguas . . . y atravesamos una sierra de siete leguas."

³ This is stated by both sources, *Naufragios*, p. 540, and *Historia*, p. 606. It was in that vicinity that they began to carry gourds along with them, that is, rattles made of gourds. This was another imitation of Indian practice of medicine, says Cabeza de Vaca (*Naufragios*, p. 540): "Y quando llegamos cerca de las casas, salió toda la gente á recibirnos con mucho placer y fiesta, y entre otras cosas, dos físicos de ellos nos dieron dos calabazas, y de aqui comenzamos a llevar calabazas con nosotros, y añadimos a nuestra autoridad esta cerimonia, que para con ellos es muy grande." In regard to the edible nuts I shall be more detailed further on, for the present I limit myself to the following from *Naufragios*, p. 540: "Hay por aquella tierra pinos chicos, y las piñas de ellas son come huevos pequeños, mas los piñones son mejores que los de Castilla, porque tienen las cascarras mas delgadas; y quando estan verdes, muelenlos y hacenlos pellas, y ansi los comen; y si estan secos, los muelen con cascarras, y los comen hechos polvos." I shall merely note here, that this does not at all agree with the supposition, that these "Piñones" were the fruit of the New Mexican *Pinus edulis*.

(Their fame had grown to such an extent, that the Indians followed them in throngs without distinction of tribe or language. They were hospitably and reverently treated everywhere.¹) It is an interesting and ethnologically most instructive spectacle, that presented by these four Christians, three white men and one black, lost and apparently forsaken among savages, and yet travelling along protected by the spell which unexpected success threw around them. It explains how, in times long previous, Indian medicine-men who had achieved great fame might finally wield a power over distant tribes, safely travelling over an extensive territory. It is easy to conceive from this example, furnished to us within historic times, how Indian diviners, magicians, or prophets might become the guides of their own people and lead them into distant lands.² In this respect, the journey of Cabeza de Vaca and his fellow sufferers is an important hint for the obscure tales of wanderings of Mexican tribes under the guidance of particular wizards, who afterwards became mythical personages, and finally hero-gods.³

During all these wanderings, they never met a buffalo, but heard of the existence of the "cows" in regions farther north. It is impossible to determine exactly the date when they at last reached a river, on the banks of which, a few days' journey to the north, the buffalo was said to roam. Here they found a few more substantial Indian lodges, inhabited by people who raised calabashes and beans.⁴ But no maize or

¹ This is stated so frequently that I forbear quoting.

² I refer here especially to the mysterious figures of Gukumatz, Quetzalcohuatl, Camaxtli, and others, in Mexico and Central America, Nemterequetēba in New Granada, Pose-Ueve and Pusha-Iankia in New Mexico, and others.

³ Compare, on the subject of Mexican hero-gods, my *Archæological Tour into Mexico*, pp. 168-200.

⁴ *Naufragios*, p. 542: "Y llamamosles de las Vacas, porque la mayor parte que de ellas mueren es cerca de alli; y porque aquel rio arriba mas de cincuenta leguas, van matando muchas de ellas." Thereabouts, he says they met "casas de asiento" whose inhabitants had "frisoles y muchas calabazas para comer y

Indian corn had so far been met with by them, except in very small quantities. On the other hand, buffalo robes were rather plentiful, as far as the Indians could be understood. Maize was cultivated far to the north and northwest, and to the westward there lay beyond the river on whose banks the Spaniards found themselves a desert expanse of considerable breadth.¹ Afraid to turn down this river towards the sea, and equally in doubt as to the advisability of penetrating very far to the northward, persuaded also that by continuing in a westerly direction they must eventually reach the Pacific Ocean and perhaps their countrymen, the Spaniards resolved to follow this river, which was the last one encountered by them on their journey previous to reaching Sonora.²

para traer agua." Oviedo, *Historia General*, vol. iii. p. 608: "É continuaron su camino hasta sus casas, que estaban cinco ó seys leguas de allí en aquel río, donde sembraban; pero por la mucha gente que avia, é la poca tierra é muy aspera, era poco lo que cogian; é por aquel río arriba los llevaron á quatro manadas de pueblos que avia. Tenian poco de comer, y esso eran fesoless é calabazas é poquito mahiz, é no tenian ellos en que guisarlos; pero hacian macamorras (que son como puches ó poleadas) en unos calabozos grandes."

¹ *Historia*, p. 609: "Allí les dixeron que adelante no avia mas harina ni fesoless, ni cosa de comer, hasta treynta ó quarenta jornadas mas adelante, que era yendo de la parte donde se pone el sol hasta el norte, de donde aquellos Indios avian avido ó traido aquella simiente; é que todos los Indios que hasta allí avia, tenian mucha hambre, é que avian de yr por aquel río arriba hacia el Norte otras nueve ó diez jornadas, sin cosa de comer, hasta atravesar el río que de allí avian de atravesar, todo lo demas avian de yr ál Hueste ó Poniente hasta donde avia mahiz, é mucho, é que tambien lo avia hacia la mano derecha al Norte, é mas abaxo por toda aquella tierra debia ser á la costa, segun despues pareció; pero que era muy mas lexos." In *Naufragios*, p. 542: "Tambien nosotros quesimos saber de donde habian traido aquel maiz, y ellos nos dijeron que de donde el sol se ponía, y que lo habia por toda aquella tierra; mas que lo mas cerca de allí era por aquel camino. Preguntamosles por donde iriamos bien, y que nos informasen del camino, porque no querian ir allí; dijeronnos que el camino era por aquel río arriba hacia el norte, y que en diez y siete jornadas no hallariamos otra cosa ninguna que comer, sino una fruta que llaman chacan. . . . Pasados dos dias que allí estuvimos, determinamos de ir á buscar el maiz, y no quesimos seguir el camino de las Vacas porque es hacia el Norte y esto era para nosotros muy gran rodeo, porque siempre tuvimos cierto que yendo á la puesta del sol, habiamos de hallar lo que deseabamos."

² See previous note. That this river was the last one of any importance which

Marching slowly up its eastern banks, for fifteen or seventeen days, they crossed the river to the west,¹ and after more than twenty days of a wearisome journey in the direction of the setting sun, at last, in the heart of a vast mountain region, came to Indian settlements of some permanence. Some of the houses were of sod with mud roofs, but the majority of matting or tressed leaves. Here they found an abundance of Indian corn, corn meal, beans, calabashes, and other forms of food.² From this point onward the villages were usually two days' march from each other, and in each of them they rested for a day or two.³ (Everywhere they were received as powerful medicine-men, feasted, and presented with gifts by the inhabitants, who thrust their sick upon the Christians. From ten and more leagues' distance the patients were brought, and the presents consisted, not only of food, but especially of cotton mantles and also of some turquoises.⁴)

they met east of the Yaqui is clear from the texts of *Naufragios*, pp. 542, 543; and *Historia*, p. 610 *et seq.*

¹ Cabeza de Vaca says positively (p. 542): "Por todas las diez y siete jornadas que nos habian dicho. Por todas ellas el rio arriba nos dieron muchas mantas de vacas . . . y ansi pasamos todas las diez y siete jornadas, y al cabo de ellas atravesamos el rio, y caminamos otras diez y siete. Á la puesta del sol, por unos llanos, y entre unas sierras muy grandes que allí se hacen," etc. *Historia*, p. 609, speaks of fifteen: "é dende allí atravesaron al Hueste ó Poniente."

² *Naufragios*, p. 542: "Acabadas estas jornadas, hallamos casas de asiento, adonde habia mucho maiz allegado, y de ello y de su harina nos dieron mucha cantidad, y de calabazas y frisoles y mantas de algodón. . . . Entre estas casas habia algunas de ellas que eran de tierra, y las otras todas son de esteras de cañas." *Historia*, p. 609: "É llegado á las primeras casas, donde avia mahiz, que seria mas de doscientas leguas de Culucan. . . . Allí les dieron mucha cantidad de mahiz é harina tostada é fésoles é calabazas é otras semillas, é de las otras cosas que solian tener. É tenian estos Indios algunas casas pequeñas de tierra, fechas de tapias con sus terrados, las mas de petacas (petaca quiere decir cesta): assi que serian como emplentas, ó cosa texida de hojas de palmas ó bexucos, ú otra trabaçon semejante."

³ *Historia*, p. 609: "Desta manera fueron mas de ochenta leguas é de tres á tres dias é de dos á dos dias llegaban á pueblos, é descansaban un dia ó dos en cada pueblo."

⁴ *Ibid.* Also *Naufragios*, p. 543.

After traversing the mountains, (whose width they estimate at eighty leagues,¹) they arrived in a valley where the hearts of deer were offered to them. To this valley they consequently gave the name of Valley of the Hearts (Valle de los Corazones).² They remarked, that throughout the whole of these mountains, while the men went mostly naked, the women were very decently dressed, with a skirt made of deer-skin reaching as low as the feet, while the chest was covered with some kind of a cotton wrapper.³

Green stones, called turquoises and even emeralds by the adventurous travellers, were in the hands of these Indians of the mountains. As the Spaniards asked whence these trinkets came, they were informed that they were brought from the distant north, where people lived who dwelt in very large houses, and with whom they occasionally traded for the green stones in exchange for parrot plumes.⁴

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Historia*, p. 610: "Pues passadas las sierras ques dicho, llegaron estos quatro chripstianos . . . á tres pueblos que estaban juntos é pequeños, en que avia hasta veynte casas en ellas, las quales eran como las passadas é juntas . . . á este pueblo, ó mejor diciendo pueblos juntos, nombraron los chripstianos la Villa de los Coraçones, porque les dieron alli mas de seyscientos coraçones de venados escaldados é secos." *Naufragios*, p. 543.

³ *Historia*, p. 610: "Toda esta gente, desde las primeras casas del mahiz, andan los hombres muy deshonestos, sin se cobrir cosa alguna de sus personas; é las mugeres muy honestas, con unas sayas de cueros de venados hasta los pies, é con falda que detras les arrastra alguna cosa, é abiertas por delante hasta el suelo y enlaçadas con una correa. É traen debaxo, por donde estan abiertas, una mantilla de algodón é otra encima, é unas gorgueras de algodón, que les cubren todos los pechos."

⁴ *Naufragios*, p. 543: "Dabannos tambien muchas cuentas y de unos corales que hay en la mar del sur, muchas turquesas muy buenas que tienen de hacia el norte; y finalmente, dieron aquí todo quanto tenían, y á mi me dieron cinco esmeraldas hechas puntas de flechas, y con estas flechas hacen ellos sus areites y bailes: y paresciendome á mi que eran muy buenas, les pregunté que donde las habian habido, y dijeron que las traian de unas sierras muy altas que estan hacia el norte, y las compraban á trueco de penachos y plumas de papagayos, y decian que habia allí pueblos de mucha gente y casas muy grandes." *Historia* (p. 610) mentions the large houses and the turquoises, but is silent on the point

The Valley of the Hearts contained three small villages.¹ Here they were visited by Indians from the Pacific coast, whose homes were at a distance of twelve to fifteen leagues.² As usual, they never travelled alone, crowds of natives escorting them from place to place. Proceeding thirty leagues farther, they reached a great river, the first one they had met since they crossed the one near which the hunchbacked cows were roaming. From what they subsequently learned, this river had already been discovered by Nuño de Guzman, and was none other than the Yaqui of Sonora.³

It was about Christmas of 1535 when the Spaniards reached the Yaqui. Heavy rains, which lasted two weeks, caused them to stay there.⁴ While among the Yaquis, they saw two objects made of iron that could only be of Spanish origin. Inquiring about them as well as it was possible, they were informed that other people, like them, had come into the country before, and had made cruel war upon the natives. But the place where these white men might be found was described as lying very far to the south, and indeed the Spaniards found out that at least one hundred leagues separated

of the parrots' feathers. But on page 618, Oviedo refers, in his review of Cabeza de Vaca's book, to the emeralds (?) and to the plumes, etc.

¹ See note 3, page 42.

² *Historia*, p. 610.

³ Cabeza de Vaca in *Naufraios*, p. 544: "Desde aqui, que se llama el Rio de Petatan, hasta el rio donde llegó Diego de Guzman, puede haber hasta él desde donde supimos de cristianos, ochenta leguas; y desde allí al pueblo donde nos tomaron las aguas, doce leguas." *Historia*, p. 610: "Hasta un rio que descubrio Nuño de Guzman. . . . Despues de aqueste pueblo fueron treynta leguas hasta este rio ya dicho." The name Diego de Guzman is neither a misprint nor a mistake made by Cabeza de Vaca. It was indeed Diego de Guzman, who, as "capitan elegido y nombrado por el muy magnifico Señor Nuño de Guzman," reached the Rio Yaqui first. *Proceso del Marques del Valle y de Nuño de Guzman*, etc., *Doc. de Indias*, vol. xv. pp. 322 and 333.

⁴ *Historia*, p. 611: "É allí les llovió quinze dias é les fue forçado parar y era por nauidad." *Naufraios*, p. 543: "En este pueblo estuvimos tres dias, y á una jornada de allí estaba otro, en el cual nos tomaron tantas aguas, que porque un rio creció mucho, no lo podimos pasar, y nos detuvimos quinze dias."

them from the abodes of their countrymen.¹ All this distance had to be made by following the coast, at an average distance of thirty miles. The country was torrid, but it was winter, and they suffered less on account of the heat than from lack of food, the inhabitants not having planted anything of late.²

Without attempting to fix precisely dates that are but vaguely indicated, I shall limit myself to the statement that in the latter half of the month of April, 1536, near the banks

¹ *Historia*, p. 611: "Alli vido Castillo á un indio una hevilleta de cinto ó talavarte é un clavo de herrar colgado del poscueço como por joyel, é tomósele; é preguntaronle los chripstianos que qué cosas eran aquellas, é respondió que otros hombres, como aquellos chripstianos, avian llegado alli con caballos é lanças y espadas; é señalaban como los alañçaban é los mataban á los indios. . . . É dende donde les llovió hasta los chripstianos avia cient leguas ó mas." *Naufragios*, p. 543: "En este tiempo Castillo vió al cuello de un indio una evilleta de talabarte de espada, y en ella cosido un clavo de herrar; tomóselo, y preguntamosle qué cosa era aquella, y respondieron que unos hombres que traian barbas como nosotros, que habian venido del cielo, y llegado á aquel rio, y que traian caballos y lanzas y espadas, y que habian alanceado dos de ellos; y lo mas disimuladamente que podimos les preguntamos qué se habian hecho aquellos hombres, y respondieronnos que se habian ido á la mar, y que metieron las lanzas por debajo del agua, y que ellos se habian tambien metido por debajo, y que despues los vieron ir por cima hacia puesta del sól." Cabeza de Vaca, p. 544, estimates the distance at ninety-two leagues.

² *Naufragios*, p. 544: "Andovimos mucha tierra, y toda la hallamos despoblada, porque los moradores de ella andaban huyendo por las sierras, sin osar tener casas ni labrar, por miedo de los cristianos. Fué cosa de que tuvimos muy gran lastima, viendo la tierra muy fertil y muy hermosa y muy llena de agua y de rios, y ver los lugares despoblados y quemados, y la gente tan flaca y enferma, huida y escondida toda; y como no sembraban, con tanta hambre, se mantenian con cortezas de arboles y raices. De esta hambre á nosotros alcanzaba parte en todo este camino, porque mal nos podian ellos proveer estando tan desventurados, que parecia que se querian morir." Also *Historia*, p. 611: "É dende el pueblo de Coraçones hasta alli siempre fueron costeando, diez ó doce leguas metidos en tierra; y en aquellas cient leguas en algunas partes avia de comer y en otras mucha hambre, que no comian sino corteças de arboles é otras raices, é malas venturas, á causa de lo qual estaban tan flacos é sarnosos que era lastima verlos. É causábalo que decian que avian entrado por alli los chripstianos tres veces, é les avian llevado la gente é destruydo los pueblos; y estaban tan temoriçados é medrosos que no osaban parescer en ninguna parte, sino aqui uno é aculla otro."

of the Rio de Petatlan in Sinaloa, the wanderers at last came within reach of the Captain Diego de Alcaráz and twenty soldiers, who were out on a slave-hunting foray.¹ Alcaráz had been unsuccessful so far. He, his escort, as well as the Indians who accompanied him, were famished, and quite lost in the labyrinth of woods and rocks. Their previous incursions had frightened away the few aborigines who formerly dwelt there.² When Cabeza de Vaca and the negro, who had gone ahead of the others in search of their countrymen, came in sight of the little camp, Alcaráz and his men felt at first quite alarmed. When, however, they recognized the new-

¹ I forbear entering into many details. The place is indicated by Fray Antonio Tello, *Historia de la Nueva Galicia* (*Documentos*, Ycazbalceta, vol. ii. p. 358): "Y siguiendo sus huellas desde Yaquimi, en los Ojuelos, una jornada mas acá de Sinaloa, alcanzaron al capitán Lazaro Cebreros." Still, this might not refer to the first meeting, as Cebreros was not with Alcaráz at the time. From the original sources it is impossible to determine the exact locality. The *Naufragios* (p. 544) say: "Y otro día por la mañana alcancé cuatro cristianos de caballo, que recibieron gran alteracion de verme tan extrañamente vestido y en compañía de indios, . . . y así, fuimos media legua de allí, donde estaba Diego de Alcaráz, que era el capitán." *Historia*, p. 612: "É llegado donde los chripstianos estaban, que serian hasta veynte de caballo, quedaron admirados y espantados de ver al Cabeça de Vaca, é mucho mas de oyrle, é aver passado por tantas tierras é diverssas gentes é lenguas." The approximate date results from Herrera, *Historia General*, vol. iii. p. 11, Decada vi. lib. 1: "I de todo lo demas aquí referido hicieron declaracion, con juramento ante Escrivano á quince de Maio de este Año; i haviendo estado allí quince Dias descansando para caminar cien leguas." From the first meeting to the arrival at Culiacan, nearly two weeks, if not more, elapsed, so that it must have been about the end of April when they fell in with Alcaráz and his troupe. There existed in Spain a document giving the exact date (*Historia*, p. 612): "É assi estos otros les pidieron por testimonio de la manera que venian é traian aquella gente de paz é de buena voluntad que los seguian; y ellos se lo dieron por fe é testimonio, el qual se envió á Sus Magestades." Cabeza de Vaca says (*Naufragios*, p. 545): "Y pedi que me diesen por testimonio el año y el mes y el día que allí habia llegado, y la manera en que venia, y así lo hicieron."

² *Naufragios*, p. 544: "Y despues de haberlo hablado, me dijo que estaba muy perdido allí, porque habia muchos días que no habia podido tomar indios, y qué no habia por donde ir, porque entre ellos comenzaba á haber necesidad y hambre." *Historia*, p. 612: "É porque essa gente de españoles avia ciertos días que no podian aver un indio ni persona, é tenian nescessidad de bastimento para los caballos."

comers as their own people, and had listened to the wonderful story of their woes and ultimate triumph over so many and such formidable obstacles, instead of attending to the wants of the sufferers, they at once bethought themselves of taking advantage of them and of their Indian retinue for the most sordid purposes. Alcaráz was out of supplies and lost in the wilderness, and had he limited his demands to food, no reproach could have fallen upon him. But as soon as the four Spaniards were in his power he insisted upon their betraying the Indians, who had followed them thus far in good faith, in order that his men might enslave them without resistance.¹ This Cabeza de Vaca and his companions indignantly refused. Thereupon Alcaráz determined to send them to the Alcalde Cebreros, under guard. His object was to separate the Christians from their Indian suite, so as to have his hands free towards the latter. But Cabeza de Vaca informed the natives of the impending danger, and the latter, leaving behind provisions, hastily retreated from a spot where their freedom and their lives were so gravely threatened.² This

¹ Cabeza de Vaca is bitter in his complaints. *Naufragios*, p. 545: "Alcaráz me rogó que enviasemos á llamar la gente de los pueblos que estan á vera del rio, que andadan escondidos por los montes de la tierra, y que les mandasemos que trujesen de comer, aunque esto no era menester, porque ellos siempre tenian cuidado de traernos todo lo que podian, y enviamos luego nuestros mensajeros á que los llamasen, y vinieron seiscientas personas, que nos trujeron todo el maiz que alcanzaban, y traianlo en unas ollas tapadas con barro, en que lo habian enterrado y escondido, y nos trujeron todo todo lo mas que tenian, mas nosotros no quisimos tomar de todo ello sino la comida, y dimos todo lo otro á los cristianos para que entre si lo repartiesen; y despues de esto, pasamos muchas y grandes pendencias con ellos, porque nos querian hacer los indios que traimos esclavos, y con esto, al partir, dejamos muchos arcos turquescos que traíamos, y muchos zurrone y flechas y entre ellas las cinco de las esmeraldas, que no se acordó de ellas; y ansi, las perdimos."

² It is again Cabeza de Vaca who is outspoken about it. *Naufragios*, p. 545: "Dimos á los cristianos muchas mantas de vaca y otras cosas que traíamos; vimonos con los indios en mucho trabajo porque se volviesen á sus casas y se asegurasen, y sembrasen su maiz. . . . Despues que habiamos enviado á los indios en paz, y regraciados del trabajo que con nosotros habian pasado, los cristianos

further incensed the two officers, and Cebreros resorted to harsh treatment. He dragged the four travellers into remote portions of the wilderness, hoping thus to extort compliance with his infamous demands. But they remained firm, and, inured to still greater hardships than those to which they were now exposed, offered a stolid resistance which convinced Cebreros that all violence would prove fruitless. So he sent them at last to the post of Culiacan, where the considerate and kind treatment extended to them by the Alcalde Mayor and commander, Melchior Diaz, a man as brave as he was humane,¹ put an end to one of the most remarkable peregrina-

nos enviaron (debajo de cautela) á un Cebreros, alcalde, y con él otros dos; los cuales nos llevaron por los montes y despoblados por apartarnos de la conversacion de los indios, y porque no viesemos ni entendiesemos lo que de hecho hicieron; donde parece cuanto se engañan los pensamientos de los hombres, que nosotros andabamos á les buscar libertad, y cuando pensabamos que la teniamos, sucedió tan al contrario, porque tenian acordado de ir á dar en los indios que enviabamos asegurados y de paz; y ansi como lo pensaron, lo hicieron; llevaronnos por aquellos montes dos dias, sin agua, perdidos, y sin camino, y todos pensamos perescer de sed, y de ella se nos ahogaron siete hombres, y muchos amigos que los cristianos traian consigo no pudieron llegar hasta otro dia á mediodia adonde aquella noche hallamos el agua; y caminamos con ellos veinte y cinco leguas, poco mas ó menos, y al fin de ellas llegamos á un pueblo de indios de paz, y el alcalde que nos llevaba nos dejó alla, y él pasó adelante otras tres leguas, á un pueblo que se llamaba Culiacan, adonde estaba Melchor Diaz, alcalde mayor y capitan de aquella provincia."

¹ See preceding note. Also *Historia*, p. 613: "Llegados pues estos chripstianos, ocho leguas antes de la villa, á un valle Poblado de Paz, salió á ellos el alcalde mayor de la villa, llamado Melchor Diaz, é los rescibio muy bien, é dando gracias á Dios por las maravillas que con estos hidalgos avia obrado." Herrera, *Historia General*, Dec. vi. p. 10: "Aportaron con gran sed, i trabajos á Culiacan, adonde era Melchor Diaz Capitan, i Alcalde Maior de aquella Provincia, que con mucha humanidad los recibio con lagrimas," etc. Cabeza de Vaca himself says (p. 546): "Y nos habló y trató muy bien; y de parte del gobernador Nuño de Guzman y suya nos ofresció todo lo que tenia y podia; y mostró mucho sentimiento de la mala acogida y tratamiento que en Alcaráz y los otros habiamos hallado, y tuvimos per cierto que si él se hallara alli, se excusara lo que con nosotros y con los indios se hizo." Melchior Diaz is a man less known and therefore less appreciated than he deserves. Three years later, he was intrusted by the Viceroy with the delicate and difficult task of pushing as far as Zuñi if possible, in order to verify the reports brought home by Fray Marcos of

tions known in the annals of travel and adventure. Their journey from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific slope in Sinaloa had lasted ten months.¹ It had been preceded by eight years of untold hardships and constant danger from every imaginable source. They arrived at Culiacan, as nearly as I can ascertain, about the first days of May (old style).² Fifteen days afterwards they left for Compostella, the chief place at the time of the province of New Galicia.³ Thence they went to the city of Mexico, everywhere received and treated with marked attention. The negro Estevan remained in Mexico, whereas Cabeza de Vaca and the others sailed from Vera Cruz for Spain on the 10th of April (old style), 1537, strongly recommended to the King by the Viceroy Don Antonio Mendoza.⁴ Cabeza de Vaca never returned to North America. Of his subsequent fate I have already spoken.⁵

Nizza. See, in the Appendix to *Voyage de Cibola*, the *Deuxième Lettre de Don Antonio de Mendoza à l'Empereur Charles V.*, April 17, 1540, pp. 292-297. The year following (1540) he set out from the Sonora River valley and crossed South-western Arizona into Southern California, where he died from a wound accidentally received. Castañeda, *Voyage de Cibola*, p. 105.

¹ *Historia*, p. 604.

² Herrera, *Hist. General*, Dec. vi. p. 10. Cabeza de Vaca, *Naufragios*, p. 547.

³ *Naufragios*, p. 547.

⁴ Antonio de Mendoza, *Carta á la Emperatriz, participando que vienen á España Cabeza de Vaca y Francisco Dorantes, que se escaparon de la Armada de Panfilo de Narvaez, á hacer Relacion de lo que en ella sucedió*, February 11, 1537 (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. xiv. p. 235): "Y á suplicar á Vuestra Magestad, que teniendo respeto á lo que en esto han trabajado y padecido, y á la voluntad que tienen de continuo allá y acá, donde se les mandare, les haga alguna merced; y por parescerme cosa justa su gratificacion, y ser ellos personas tan honradas y en quien cabe, escreví esta para suplicaros á Vuestra Magestad les mande hacer en lo que se les ofreciere toda la merced que hubiere lugar, porque demas de haber tambien merecido lo que se les hiciere, sera animar á otros que la hagan lo mismo." Cabeza de Vaca and Dorantes attempted to sail from Vera Cruz as early as October, 1536, but the vessel was stranded, and so they waited until spring. At last, on the 10th of April, 1537, they sailed for Havana, reaching Lisbon on the 9th of August. *Naufragios*, pp. 547 and 549. Also *Historia* (p. 614) has the date of 1539, which is an evident error.

⁵ Cabeza de Vaca never returned to Mexico. Dorantes, however, appears to have been there the year following.

This is a brief sketch of the journey, which, as will be hereafter seen, led to the ultimate discovery of New Mexico. It remains to be investigated which route the adventurous wanderers took, and that investigation will, in turn, determine whether or not it is true, as has hitherto been admitted, that Cabeza de Vaca was the first European to tread New Mexican soil. I have already stated, as a result of previous studies, that the prevailing notions are incorrect, and that he never set foot on New Mexican territory as the term is understood to-day. I shall add here, that he never claimed, as little as did his companions, to have seen or visited any of the sedentary tribes whose peculiar culture and condition have become so characteristic of New Mexico.

There are a few points in the itinerary above sketched which are of decisive value in the discussion of it, and are placed beyond all controversy by the statements of the travellers. These are : —

1. That they began their journey in Eastern Texas, and near the coast.
2. That during their peregrination, they always remained south of the range where the buffalo was wont to roam.
3. That the mean direction of their course was from east to west.
4. That, until they entered the broad mountain chain through whose gaps or valleys they emerged upon the slope of the Pacific, they had constantly been travelling among and with roaming savages, and that the first clusters of more permanent settlements were met with by them in that great mountain region, as well as to the west of it, near the shores of the South Sea.
5. That the place where they received the first intimation of the proximity of Spaniards was situated on the Yaqui River of Sonora, and at no great distance from the coast.

No. 1 and No. 5 give us the terminal points of the journey. No. 2 limits the belt through which they travelled to a zone in the southern part of the United States of to-day. It also excludes all possibility of their having impinged upon Southern New Mexico, and particularly upon the region inhabited by the Pueblo Indians.

To re-establish the itinerary with complete accuracy is quite impossible. It was written, not as a journal, for they had no means of recording anything on their trip, but as recollections, sufficiently fresh, however, to admit of tolerable accuracy, provided it was done in good faith. Nothing in their reports indicates that they wilfully exaggerated or misrepresented, taking into consideration their extraordinary sufferings and the state of physical as well as mental exaltation which the terrible strain upon body and mind cannot but have produced. The wonderful cures which they relate are no evidence of studied deception on their part. The interpretation given by them to their unexpected success in the art of healing and curing was in accordance with the spirit of the times, and the conditions of knowledge at that epoch. I therefore regard their relations as reliable in the main, though of necessity sometimes confused, and often unsatisfactory in precision and detail. This lack of prolixity speaks in favor of their truthfulness.

It is worthy of note, that after the four castaways had met, and had determined upon striving to reach the part of America where they might find settlements of their own people, they did not, in all their wanderings, cross any river of such proportions as might correspond to the width and depth of the Mississippi, or of any other large stream in the central and Southern States of the Union. One river particularly is mentioned as being "wider than the Guadalquivir in Seville, and they crossed it all up to the knee and thigh, and for a

length of more than two lances up to the breast, but without peril.”¹ Of this same character all the other rivers which they crossed must have been, else they would have mentioned any notable difference.² They consequently did not have to cross the Mississippi, but found themselves beyond its mouth even previous to their meeting. The last remnants of the expedition to which they belonged perished very probably in the neighborhood of the Mississippi Delta, and somewhat west of it, and the survivors, completely at the mercy of the Indians, were tossed to and fro between bands moving no great distance from the coast or to the west. Once united and bent upon their westward progress, they took care to note, not only the size, but also the number, of the streams they had to cross, and this number is given by them at four.³

They were the Trinity, the Brazos, the Colorado, and the

¹ *Historia*, p. 604: “É antes que el sol se pudiesse llegaron á un río, que á su parescer era mas ancho que Guadalquivir en Sevilla, é passaronlo todo á la rodilla é al muslo, é obra de dos lanças en luengo á los pechos, pero sin peligro.” *Naufragios*, p. 538: “Partimos de alli llevandolas por guia, y pasamos un río cuando ya vino la tarde, que nos daba el agua á los pechos; seria tan ancho como el de Sevilla, y corria muy mucho.” It is the general character of Southwestern streams to have wide beds in proportion to their depth. It is noteworthy also, that they lay stress upon this particular river for its size and the depth of its current, as well as its velocity. Neither corresponds with the Mississippi nor with the Red River, taking into consideration (as far as the latter is concerned) that they were still close to the coast, whereas the Red River empties into the Mississippi at a distance of 110 miles north of the nearest point on the shore. Neither did the expedition of Narvaez, as long as it was together, cross the Mississippi. That they should have passed its mouth without noticing it is quite possible, from the state of utter helplessness in which they were, completely adrift and at the mercy of wind and waves in their frail boats.

² Only twice there is a qualification: *Naufragios*, p. 540, “á la ribera de un muy hermoso río”; p. 541, “y al cabo dellas un río muy grande, que nos daba á los pechos.”

³ Previous to their meeting, many bays, lagunes, and streams are mentioned. All were, however, in the vicinity of the shore. Afterwards during their peregrinations we find only four rivers which they crossed, the last of the four being the one near the region where the buffaloes were said to roam.

Rio Grande del Norte.¹ All these streams are fordable during the winter months, and it was in fall and winter that the Spaniards performed their journey through Texas. In another place I have written as follows on this subject, and I have nothing to alter in the opinions there expressed:—

“They travelled five days, crossing a river ‘wider than the Guadalquivir at Seville,’ and quite deep. This was the Trinity. Three days’ march west of this river they began to

¹ It must be borne in mind, that the average direction of their wanderings was from east to west. Consequently, the streams which they crossed must have flowed, on an average also, from north to south. The only country in the southern part of North America where four water-courses of the particular kind mentioned by Cabeza de Vaca and his companions would have to be crossed successively on a journey from east to west is Texas, and they can only have been the Trinity, the Brazos, the Colorado, and the Rio Grande. That the Nueces should not be counted will appear from the direction they took, which carried them to the mouth of the Pecos, consequently so far north that the Nueces must have appeared to them as a mere creek. That the Pecos would not be mentioned becomes evident from what I shall develop further on, so that the Trinity as the first, and the Rio Grande as the last, of the four rivers indicated are the only identifications possible. The Trinity was the one described as being as large as the Guadalquivir at Seville (see note 1, page 51). The Brazos was the next, of which Cabeza de Vaca says (*Naufra-gios*, p. 539): “Y nosotros caminamos por el rio arriba.” And the joint report preserved in Oviedo (*Historia*, p. 604): “Hasta un rio que estaba al pié de la punta, donde començaba la dicha sierra.” The river which the joint report in Oviedo (*Historia*, p. 606) mentions as within a mountainous region is the Colorado, which indeed traverses a series of heights (appearing like low mountains in comparison with the extensive levels of Texas) between Austin and San Saba. Of it Cabeza de Vaca says (p. 540): “Y atravesamos una sierra de siete leguas y las piedras de ella eran de escorias de hierro; y á la noche llegamos á muchas casas, que estaban asentadas á la ribera de un hermoso rio.” This would also indicate volcanic rocks. Finally, the last river mentioned (*Naufra-gios*, p. 542, *Historia*, pp. 608, 609), after traversing (*Naufra-gios*, p. 541) a very dry expanse of mountainous country, was the Rio Grande. At the end of this region, whose width is given at fifty leagues, he mentions another river, “muy grande, que el agua nos daba á los pechos.” The joint report does not mention it, and I have only accepted what is contained in both sources. In case Cabeza de Vaca is right, then there were five streams, the first of which was the Nechez, the second the Trinity, the Brazos the third, the Colorado the fourth, and the Rio Grande del Norte the last. In either case, the ultimate geographical result is the same.

see mountains, one range of which seemed to sweep directly northward. One day farther, or 'five leagues farther on,' they reached another river, 'at the foot of the point where the said mountains commenced.' That river was the Brazos, and by 'mountains' the hills of Central Texas must be understood. Cabeza de Vaca says he estimated the distance of these mountains from the sea to be fifteen leagues (forty miles). People from the coast came in one day to visit them.

"Here they changed their direction, and moved northwards along the base of a 'mountain chain,' and partly away from water-courses, eighty leagues according to the joint report, fifty according to Cabeza de Vaca. The last estimate is more likely, for the journey was painful and slow, and they experienced great scarcity of food, as well as of water. In this manner they reached the vicinity of Fort Graham. Here they changed their route, making towards sunset again.

"Including prolonged stays among Indian hordes, our Spaniards consumed nearly two months in these wanderings, so that it was November when they began to move westward again. Guided by sunrise and sunset, they consequently followed a line south of west, it being now late in the fall. The farther they advanced, the greater became that southerly deflection. They crossed the Colorado, and finally struck a large river, to which they gave the name 'Rio de las Vacas,' or River of the Cows, since the buffalo herds were said to roam more than fifty leagues up the river.

"This is the last stream mentioned in either of the relations. It was evidently the Rio Grande.

"Here both reports become extraordinarily diffuse, although the joint narrative is less so than Cabeza de Vaca's book. Still, it is easily discernible that the Spaniards struck the Rio Grande without crossing the Pecos, therefore below

or very near the mouth of the latter. Refusing to go due north where the 'cows' were, they followed the eastern bank for fifteen (the *Naufragios* have seventeen) days. The mountains were to the north, and during this tramp they suffered much from hunger. At the end of fifteen or of seventeen days they crossed the river to the west. The distance from the mouth of the Pecos to Presidio del Norte (where the Rio Conchos empties into the Rio Grande) is about two hundred and fifty miles, a reasonable stretch for fifteen days of wearisome and difficult foot travel. I conclude, therefore, that they crossed the Rio Grande about Fort Seaton. Thereafter their route lay towards sunset again, and no more water-courses are mentioned."¹ That is, until they reached the banks of the Yaqui.

In the sixteenth century, the buffalo never reached the shores of the Rio Grande del Norte.² This seems to

¹ *Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, the first overland Traveller of European Descent, and his Journey from Florida to the Pacific Coast, 1528-1536.* In the *Magazine of Western History*, July, 1886, p. 330 et seq.

² There is abundant proof of this. In 1581, Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado with eight soldiers accompanied three Franciscan friars up the Rio Grande to New Mexico, and they met the buffalo quite far to the east of that river, in the great plains east of the Sierra de Sandia and the Sierra del Manzano. *Testimonio dado en Mejico sobre el Descubrimiento de doscientas leguas adelante, de las Minas de Santa Barbola, etc.* (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. xv.). In the following year, Antonio de Espejo marched up the Rio Grande from near the mouth of the Conchos to Bernalillo in New Mexico, and found no trace of the great quadruped, whereas upon his return down the Rio Pecos he saw large herds of them along the latter stream. *Relacion del Viage* (same volume). In 1590, Gaspar Castaño de Sosa marched up the Pecos River, after crossing the Rio Grande, and he saw tracks of the buffalo only on the former. *Memoria del Descubrimiento que Gaspar Castaño de Sosa, hizo en el Nuevo Mexico* (same volume). In 1598, Oñate again followed the Rio Grande upwards, from a considerable distance below El Paso del Norte, and saw no trace of the buffalo along its banks. *Discurso de las Jornadas que hizo el Campo de Su Magestad desde la Nueva España á la Provincia de la Nueva Mexico* (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. xvi.). This is very natural, since the banks of the river afford no room nor subsistence for the immense herds of cattle. Between El Paso and Presidio del Norte, the country is forbidding and very sterile, with hardly any grass, and mostly rocky.

militate against the assumption that that river was the last stream which they met (of any importance) previous to their striking Sonora. But the texts of both of the main sources indicate that the 'cows' were not on the river which they followed for about seventeen days.¹ It is certain that they never saw the buffalo themselves, except Cabeza de Vaca, who saw them in the Red River country, but the Indians on the Rio Grande told them that they roamed "three days' distance from there."² It is well ascertained that the buffalo used to descend along the Pecos to near the mouth of that river.³ Therefore the Spaniards must have struck the Rio Grande a little below its junction with the Pecos, and the reports which they gathered concerning the vicinity of the great quadruped applied to the Pecos,⁴ owing to the near

¹ Here a close comparison, not only of the texts of both sources, but of the statements contained in each, is necessary. *Naufragios*, p. 542: "Y porque aquel rio arriba mas de cinquenta leguas, van matando muchas de ellas." But further on (cap. xxxi., same page) we find the following significant passage, the main portion of which I italicize: "Pasados dos dias que alli estuvimos, determinamos de ir á buscar el maiz: Y no quesimos seguir el camino de las vacas porque es hacia el norte; y esto era para nosotros muy gran rodeo." They therefore followed the river for seventeen days: "Y ansi pasamos todas las diez y siete jornadas, y al cabo de ellas atravesamos el rio." This shows that the river on which were the "cows" was not the same as the one which the Spaniards followed. *Historia*, p. 609: "É assi fueron por este rio arriba las nueve jornadas, cada dia caminando hasta la noche, con grandissima hambre." The Indians on that river told them, "que eran ydos á comer las vacas, tres jornadas de allá en unos llanos entre las sierras que decian venian de arriba hacia la mar." The plain which is here mentioned corresponds to the level through which the Pecos flows in Northwestern Texas. The mountains are the Sierra Apache, Sierra Guadalupe, Pahcut, and the others of that wild and arid region between the Pecos and the Rio Grande, south of the New Mexican boundary.

² Cabeza de Vaca alone gives a description of the "cows." Already Oviedo notices this, *Historia*, p. 617. (See note above.)

³ This results from the reports quoted in note 2, page 54. In 1684, Juan Dominguez de Mendoza crossed over from the mouth of the Conchos to the Pecos River, and on the 10th of January, ten days after leaving the Rio Grande, he saw the first signs of the buffalo. *Diario del Viaje a la Junta de los Rios y hasta el Rio de Pecos*, MS., fol. 8.

⁴ Otherwise Cabeza de Vaca would not have made the distinction between

proximity of both rivers, of which, however, they saw but the larger one. Furthermore, their journey up the river exposed them to many hardships, owing to lack of food. The Indians had hardly anything to eat, still less wherewith to feed guests,¹ and while buffalo robes were plentiful, the animal itself was said to exist "three days' journey from there in plains among mountains which they said descended from higher up towards the sea, and that they themselves went thither also." These plains between mountains are the plains through the western edge of which the Pecos approaches the Rio Grande; the mountains are the maze of arid chains covering the triangle formed, in the extreme northwest of Texas, by the Rio Grande and the Pecos.

—The upper course of the Rio Brazos, perhaps on the thirty-second parallel of latitude, appears therefore to have been the most northerly point reached by the wanderers on their peregrinations. This is also the latitude of the southern boundary of New Mexico; but they struck that parallel at least four degrees of longitude east of the southeastern corner of the New Mexican territory, and thence declined to the southwest to two and a half degrees farther south. As long as they were east of the Rio Grande, or on the soil of the United States of to-day, Cabeza de Vaca and his friends remained far out of reach of New Mexico. In addition to the geographical and zoögraphical evidences above given, there is further proof derived from the statements of the travellers concerning the flora of the country, and the condition of the aborigines with whom they came in contact. As long as they were together on the coast, and even for some time afterwards, they place much stress upon several nutritive plants which were characteristic of the vegetation, and at the

the river on which the cows were, and the one whose banks they afterwards followed.

¹ *Naufragios*, p. 542. *Historia*, p. 608.

same time prominent means of subsistence for the Indians. Prominent among these are the mesquit (*Prosopis juliflora*) and the cactus, or prickly pear (*Opuntia*).¹ Neither of these plants appears in Eastern Texas towards the Indian Territory in any great abundance, and yet the natives were wont to leave the coast and go inland in order to subsist for months on the tuna or cactus fruit; and the beans of the mesquit are mentioned, time and again, as one of the principal means of subsistence of these hordes during certain periods of the year. Such statements can only apply to Southern and Central Texas.

Again, a small tree or shrub is mentioned bearing edible nuts. At first glance, the Piñon, or *Pinus edulis*, may be thought of, — a tree which is almost specifically New Mexican; but the shell of these "Piñones" was soft and edible also.² This proves that the tree must have been a cedar, the fruit of which is also used by the Pueblo Indians and other tribes of New Mexico. This tree or shrub occurs in Northern Texas.

The travellers strongly insist upon the almost total ab-

¹ The descriptions are full and accurate. Not only the Tuna is mentioned, but the name Mezquite, also Mezquizez, appears in both reports. *Historia*, p. 604, and possibly p. 609. *Naufragios*, p. 538: "Este Mezquizez es una fruta que cuando está en el arbol es muy amarga, y es de la manera de algarrobas y comese con tierra, y con ella esta dulce y bueno de comer."

² That these cannot have been the New Mexican Piñones is quite clear. *Naufragios*, p. 540: "Hay por aquella tierra pinos chicos, y las piñas de ellas son como huevos pequeños, mas los piñones son mejores que los de Castilla, porque tienen las cascarras muy delgadas; y cuando estan verdes, muelenlos y hacenlos pellas, y ansi los comen; y si estan secos, los muelen con cascarras, y los comen hechos polvos." *Historia*, p. 606: "E dieronles alli mucha cantidad de piñones tan buenos y mejores que los de Castilla, porque tienen las cascarras de manera que las comen con lo demas: las piñas dellos son muy chiquitas, é los arboles llenos en aquellas serranias en cantidad." This does not at all agree with the New Mexican "Piñon." I am unable as yet to find out whether there is a species of piñon in Texas. At all events, if there is, it appears to be different from the northern kind.

sence of maize or Indian corn as long as they remained to the east of the Rio Grande. On the banks of that stream they were finally told that to find corn in any abundance it was necessary for them to go westward, and also to the north, a long distance.¹ What the Indians planted were beans and calabashes, and even these grew only in small quantities, as the soil was very poor.² Had they ever come in contact with the New Mexican Pueblos they would have told a different story.

The Indians themselves whom the castaways met and cured, and who voluntarily accompanied them as escort from band to band, or from camp to camp, are plainly described as being the merest savages. Nowhere is there any mention of houses of mud or stone. Only lodges made of boughs or leaves — the rudest huts — are spoken of. These Indians led an erratic life, wandering to and fro at will, or according to the necessities of life. Nothing in the

¹ In the vicinity, or on the banks perhaps, of the Rio Grande, there was a little corn, but there were no plantations of it. *Naufragios*, p. 542: "Preguntamosles como no sembraban maiz; respondieronnos que lo hacian por no perder lo que sembrasen, porque dos años atras les habian faltado las aguas y habia sido el tiempo tan seco, que á todos les habian perdido los maices los topos, y que no osarian tornar á sembrar sin que primero hubiese llovido mucho; . . . tambien nosotros quesimos saber de donde habian traído aquel maiz, y ellos nos dijeron que de donde el sol se ponía, y que lo había por toda aquella tierra; mas que lo mas cerca de allí era por aquel camino." *Historia*, p. 609: "Allí les dixeron que adelante no avia mas harina ni fesoles, ni cosa de comer, hasta treynta ó quarenta jornadas mas adelante, que era yendo de la parte donde se pone el sol hasta el Norte, de donde aquellos indios avian avido ó traído aquella simiente; é que todos los indios que hasta allí avia, tenían mucha hambre . . . todo lo demas avian de yr al Hueste ó Poniente hasta donde avia mahiz, é mucho, é que tambien lo avia hacia la mano derecha al Norte." The first plantations of corn they found in the Sierra Madre. *Historia*, p. 609: "É fueron mas de otras veynte hasta el mahiz por gente algo hambrienta, pero no tanto, porque comian unos polvos de hierbas, é mataban mucha caça de liebre." This was while they were crossing Chihuahua from the Rio Grande to the mountains in the west.

² This is positively stated, and in so many places that it would be superfluous to quote in detail.

picture made of these nomads corresponds in the least to the sedentary tribes of New Mexico. There is not even an indication that the Spaniards, while east of the Rio Grande, heard of the Pueblos and their strange, characteristic many-storied dwellings.¹

Cabeza de Vaca has given a list of tribes, which contains a great number of names.² I have not as yet been able to

¹ The only place where they found dwellings slightly more substantial was on the Rio Grande. *Historia*, p. 608: "Las quales lo llevaron á un rio donde hallaron gente é casas é assiento; é algunos fesoles é calabças que comian, aunque muy poco." *Naufragios*, p. 542. It is not surprising that on the Rio Grande there should have lived Indians in more permanent abodes. It was in this vicinity that, forty-six years later, Espejo met the Jumanos Indians, of whom he says (*Relucion del Viage, Doc. de Indias*, vol. xv. p. 168): "En que parecia habia mucha gente y con pueblos formados, grandes en que vimos cinco pueblos con mas de diez mil indios y casas de azuteá, bajas, y con buena traza de pueblos." These Jumanos recollected the passage of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions through their country: "Respondieron que de tres Christianos, y un negro que auian passado por alli, y detenidose algunos dias en su tierra," etc. It is very significant, also, that they mention houses of mud for the first time in the Sierra Madre. *Historia*, p. 609: "É tenian estos indios algunas casas pequeñas de tierra." *Naufragios*, p. 543: "Entre estas casas habia algunas de ellas que eran de tierra." Had these not been the *first* ones which the Spaniards saw on the whole journey, they would scarcely have made such special mention of them. It is also stated in *Historia*, p. 610: "E tambien les parescio que aquellos terradillos é andar las mugeres en habito tan honesto, lo aprendian é tomaban della [from the coast of the Pacific]." This shows that until then they had not seen any houses of earth or stone.

Another point which is in itself almost decisive is the statement that until they entered the Sierra Madre they nowhere saw pottery in use or in the hands of the natives. On the Rio Grande, where they found the most substantial dwellings, Cabeza de Vaca remarks (*Naufragios*, p. 542): "Ellos no alcanzan ollas, y para cocer lo que ellos quieren comer, hinchén media calabaza grande de agua, y en el fuego echan muchas piedras de las que mas facilmente ellos pueden encender, y toman el fuego; y cuando ven que estan ardiendo, tomanlas con unas tenazas de palo, y echanlas en aquella agua que está en la calabaza, hasta que la hacen hervir con el fuego que las piedras llevan; y cuando ven que el agua hierve, echan en ella lo que han de cocer, y en todo este tiempo no hacen sino sacar unas piedras y echar otras ardiendo para que el agua hierva para cocer lo que quieren, y asi lo cuecen." *Historia*, p. 608. Had the travellers met the New Mexican Pueblos, they would have seen pottery, and undoubtedly have mentioned it.

² *Naufragios*, cap. xxvi.

identify a single one of them. (This is not surprising. Texas was not explored by the Spaniards until one hundred and fifty years later, and among roaming Indians it is extremely difficult to recognize the name of a band or horde after such a lapse of time.) Besides, we do not know to what extent the appellatives left us by Cabeza de Vaca, or those furnished by Juan Dominguez de Mendoza, in 1684,¹ are genuine names or only surnames, — to what extent they were recognized by the tribe, or only applied to it by some neighbor, whether friend or enemy.

It remains now to trace the course of the Spaniards on the west side of the Rio Grande, and to see whether perhaps on that side they penetrated into New Mexico.

I believe I have established that the crossing of the stream which now divides the State of Texas from the Mexican States of Chihuahua and Coahuila was effected at the junction of the Rio Conchos with the Rio Grande, or near Presidio del Norte in Chihuahua. Thence onward their course was westward, declining to the south. Presidio del Norte itself is more than two degrees south of the New Mexican boundary line; it lies even outside the limits of the territory as they were during the Spanish domination.² It is therefore equally impossible that Cabeza de Vaca ever could have trod New Mexican soil on the west side of the Rio Grande. His route led him across the central portions of the State of Chihuahua to the Pass of Mulatos in the Sierra Madre. The time spent in traversing that arid country — twenty days — agrees with the distance fairly

¹ *Diario*, MS., fol. 46. The list given of the tribes of Texas by Pedro de Rivera in his *Diario y Derrotero de lo Visto y Caminado, etc.*, 1736, p. 67, is to some extent only a copy of the one by Dominguez de Mendoza.

² These limits were the Boquillas, 40 leagues (108 miles) south of El Paso Rivera. *Diario*, p. 27. In 1836 Pedro Garcia Conde fixes the northern limits of Chihuahua at lat. 32° 57'. *Ensayo Estadístico sobre el Estado de Chihuahua*, p. 7. Presidio del Norte is south of that line.

well; and the short description of the condition of the aborigines whom the Spaniards met on their passage is very well put: "And from there they went to the west, or setting sun, more than twenty days more, through people that were famished, though not as much [as those previously spoken of], because they ate powdered herbs, and killed a great many hares."¹ In a straight line, the eastern flanks of the Sierra Madre are not more than two hundred miles from the mouth of the Conchos. It is self-evident that the route taken was not a perfect air-line, and that consequently they travelled a greater distance. They must have kept on the north side of the Conchos River, else they would have mentioned it. The country has some beautiful valleys,—at least now, when such spots have been improved for sites of ranchos, haciendas, and a few settlements. But by far the greater portion of the country which the Spaniards then traversed must have produced upon them the impression of an arid waste.² It was only when they ascended the foothills of the Sierra Madre, and penetrated into the deep gorges and valleys of that extensive mountain area, that a fertile land met their eyes, and at last they found Indians settled in small but more permanent villages,—Indians who cultivated maize, who owned turquoises, although in small quantities, and who traded parrot's feathers for green stones, far in the north. The houses of these Indians were made of palm-leaves tressed and plaited, and some of the buildings had earthen walls and a dirt roof.³

¹ *Historia*, p. 609. For a description of that part of Chihuanua as it was sixty years after Cabeza de Vaca's passage, compare Juan de Oñate, *Discurso de las Jornadas*, pp. 236-243; also Gaspar Perez de Villagran, *Historia de la Nueva Mexico*, 1610, fol. 85-115. The sufferings of the Spanish corps commanded by Oñate, and of the various reconnoitring parties sent out by him, were dreadful.

² The country was not inhabited; bands of Indians, Conchos, Tarahumares, Tobosos, etc., merely roamed through it.

³ The joint report in *Historia* (p. 609) expressly says the houses were small:

All this is significant, and enables us to identify the region, though not the exact locality.

A species of large green parrot¹ inhabits the pine forests of the Sierra Madre as far north as latitude 30°. I have often seen it in the solitudes of the heart of this vast chain, early in the morning, fluttering from tree-top to tree-top, and saluting the dawn of day with its discordant cries and animated conversation. North of the Sierra Madre no species of the parrot tribe is permanent, — hardly even an occasional visitor.

Palms are found in the Sierra Madre and its tributary chains. They are especially fan-palms, and the houses of the aborigines of Sonora were often made of that material.²

“Casas pequeñas de tierra, fechas de tapias con sus terrados.” *Tapia* means *sod*, not *adobe*.

¹ It is called “Guacamayo,” or Macaw, by the natives. Whether or not it is the green macaw, *Ara ambiguus*, catalogued by Sr. Jesus Sanchez, in his *Datos para el Catalogo de las Aves que viven en México y su Distribucion Geográfica* (in *Anales del Museo Nacional*, vol. i. no. 2, p. 94), as extant in the Southern Mexican States, I cannot, of course, determine. I have seen the *A. ambiguus* in Oaxaca, and the green parrot in the heart of the Sierra Madre, west of the Casas Grandes (on the summit of the Puerto de San Diego), but neither sufficiently near me to permit a comparison.

² At Arizpe, in the valley of Sonora, there is one specimen of the so called date-palm. The fan-palm I have seen, together with the scrubby oak, at Bacachi, in Eastern Sonora; and small specimens of the date-palm on the crest of Bacatehac, between Granados, on the Upper Yaqui River, and the village of Bacadéhuachi, on the outskirts of the Sierra Madre. All these places are northwest of Mulatos. That the huts of the natives of Sonora were frequently of palm leaves, also of yucca, is well established already in the sixteenth century. Castañeda, *Voyage de Cibola*, p. 256: “On nomme cette province Petatlan, parce que les maisons sont faites en Petates (nattes de jonc). Cette manière de bâtir est la même pendant deux cent quarante lieues, jusqu’à l’entrée du désert de Cibola.” By “desert of Cibola” the eastern part of Arizona, between the Little Colorado and the Rio Gila, is meant. The Jesuit Andrés Perez de Ribas, in his classical work on the Missions of Sonora, etc., entitled, *Historia de los Triunphos de Nuestra Santa Fee*, etc., 1545, lib. i. cap. ii. p. 6): “Estas [the houses] hazian, vnas de varas de monte hincadas en tierra, entretexidas, y atadas con vejucos, que son vnas ramas como de çarçaparrilla, muy fuertes, y que duran mucho tiempo. Las paredes que hazian con essa

The interior of the Sierra Madre is strewn with remains of Indian hamlets and cave dwellings, and with the traces of small garden-beds. Not all of these ruins antedate the time of Spanish occupation. The Jovas, a branch and dialect of the Opatas,¹ dwelt in scattered clusters in the interior of the chain, almost due west of Presidio del Norte. Tyopari, Satechi, Servas, now in ruins, were Jova and Opata villages, two of which were still in existence one hundred and fifty years ago.² Some of the houses of these villages were of so

barazon las aforrauan con vna torta de barro, para que no las penetrasse el Sol, ni los vientos, y encima tierra, o barro, con que hazian agotea, y con esso se contentauan. Otros hazian sus casas de petates." But he also mentions houses of mud, and especially among such tribes as lived in the Sierra Madre or upon its spurs (lib. vi. p. 386): "Son sus casas de barro, y de terrado, á modo de las que se hazen de adobes, y mejores, porque aunque el barro es sin mezcla de paja, lo pisan, y disponen de manera, que queda duro como vna piedra, y luego lo cubren con sus maderas fuertes, y bien labradas."

¹ *Descripcion Geografica de la Provincia de Sonora*, 1764, MS., cap. vi. art. i. Orozco y Berra, *Geografia de las Lenguas y Carta Etnografica de Mexico*, p. 345.

² *Descripcion Geografica*, *ut supra*. All the villages indicated existed in 1678. Father Juan Ortiz Zapata, S. J., *Relacion de las Misiones que la Compañia de Jesus tiene en el Reino y Provincia de la Nueva Vizcaya en la Nueva España* (*Doc. para la Historia de Mexico*, série 3^a, vol. ii. pp. 341, 366). Servas was abandoned in 1690, it having been surprised and ravaged by the Janos and Sumas Indians. *Descripcion Geografica*, cap. vii. art. v. The other two were still in existence in 1764. The Jovas were looked upon as less civilized than their cousins, the Opatas. It is interesting, however, to compare the description of their dress as given by the joint report in *Historia* (p. 610) with the description of the dress of the Sisibotarís, a branch of the southern Pimas of Sonora, given by Ribas in his *Historia de los Triunfos*, p. 385. Oviedo says: "Toda esta gente, dende las primeras casas del mahiz, andan los hombres muy deshonestos, sin se cubrir cosa alguna de sus personas; é las mugeres muy honestas, con unas sayas de cueros de venados hasta los pies, é con falda que detras les arrastra alguna cosa, é abiertas por delante hasta el suelo y enlaçadas con unas correas. É traen debaxo, por donde están abiertas, una mantilla de algodón é otra encima é unas gorgueras de algodón, que les cubren todos los pechos."

Ribas: "Porq̃ los hōbres se cubrē lo necessario, cō vna mātā pequeña pintada de la cintura a la rodilla, y quando haze frio vsan vnas mātās grādes de algodón, y pita: pero las mugeres andan cargadas de vestidos, y hazē tanto ruido al entrar en la Iglesia, como si fuerā Españolas. Porq̃ los faldellines de q̃ vsan llegā hasta el suelo; q̃ son, o de pieles de venados, tã bruñidas, y blandas como vna seda, y cō varias pinturas de colores, o de algodō, o pita,

called adobes, but in many instances the foundation alone was of rubble, the superstructure of palm leaves, or yucca slats, supported by posts of wood. It is more than likely that Cabeza de Vaca and his friends fell in with these Jovas, and that the "houses of sod with dirt roofs" were those of Jova or Opata hamlets scattered through the valleys in the mountain fastnesses between the sources of the Rio Aros and the Rio de Mulatos, both of which, by the way, are tributaries of the Yaqui, and belong, therefore, to the drainage of the Pacific slope.

Through the gorges that wend their way from the eastern to the western flank of the Sierra Madre, probably — nay, almost certainly — through the pass called "Mulatos," the Spaniards naturally drifted into the central portions of Sonora, where the "Valley of the Hearts" was situated. This locality having afterwards become a rather prominent landmark, its location is easily defined. It lay a short distance from the village of Batuco in Sonora.¹

Batuco lies northeast of Guaymas, at a distance of about 110 miles in a straight line. The "Corazones" were nearer to the coast, and "thirty leagues" from the Yaqui River.² This estimate may be quite fair, for the inhabitants of the Corazones were Southern Pimas or Nebomes. The range of

q̄ tienē en abundancia en estos pueblos: y para mas honestidad se ponē un delantar de la cintura abaxo, q̄ en muchas suele ser negro, y parecē Mōjas cō escapularios."

¹ Castañeda, *Cibola*, p. 157: "En bas de la vallée de Sonora est celui des Corazones, habité par des Espagnols." Ibid., p. 221: "Quand l'on fut arrivé à Batuco, des Indiens alliés de la vallée de Coraçones vinrent au devant de l'armée pour voir le général." *Relacion del Suceso de la Jornada que Francisco Vazquez hizo en el Descubrimiento de Cibola* (Doc. de Indias, vol. xiv. p. 318): "Este valle de los Corazones está ciento cinquenta leguas del valle de Culiacan é otras tantas de Cibola." Or about half-way between Culiacan and Zuñi. Matias de la Mota-Padilla (*Historia de la Nueva Galicia*, 1742, p. 118) says that the Corazones were ten or twelve leagues south of the Sonora valley.

² *Historia*, p. 611.

the Nebomes bordered on that of the Yaquis; and we can fairly locate the three hamlets where deer-hearts were offered to the Spaniards at some place in the vicinity of "Matape."

The fact that the people of the Corazones were Pimas or Nebomes is established beyond all doubt. After seeing the kind reception tendered to them at Culiacan by Melchior Diaz, and perceiving that this officer was a man of different character from his two subordinates, Alcaráz and Cebreros, Cabeza de Vaca listened to his request to settle the Indians from the Corazones who had accompanied him somewhere in Sinaloa. He sent for them, and they came, establishing themselves near the Rio del Fuerte, and the village of La Concepcion de Bamoa was thus founded.¹ At the present day the Pima language is still spoken by its inhabitants, who are the descendants of those whom Cabeza de Vaca and his friends established there.²

It is needless for the purpose of this study to attempt to trace the route taken by the adventurous men from the Corazones to Culiacan. My main object is, as I believe, already attained; namely, to establish that nowhere, on their long and painful journey, did Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes, Castillo Maldonado, and Estevan, the negro, touch upon New Mexico; that therefore the wide-spread notion which ascribes to the first named the discovery of that territory is without any

¹ Ribas, *Historia de los Triunphos*, p. 22: "Hizolo assi Cabeça de Vaca, con sus compañeros, siēdo agradecidos a los que les auian hecho fiel compañía, y escolta en tan peligroso viaje. Procuraron se les diese sitio donde poblasen, y tuuiessen semēteras; y en el rio de Petatlan, quatro leguas (rio abaxo) de donde oy esta la villa, en este puesto formaron vn pueblo llamado Bamoa, que oy perseuera, y es de lengua y nacion poblada cien leguas mas la tierra adentro." The fact is well stated in *Historia*, p. 611, and also in *Naufragios*, p. 546. Fray Antonio Tello, *Historia de la Nueva Galicia*, p. 359: "Fundaron á orillas del rio de Petatlan dos Pueblos, llamados el uno Popuchi y el otro Apucha." Mota-Padilla, *Historia*, p. 81. Ortiz Zapata, *Relacion de las Misiones*, p. 406. Orozco y Berra, *Geografia de las Lenguas*, p. 333.

² *Geografia de las Lenguas*, ut supra: "Hablan el pima."

foundation whatever. Furthermore, the assertion that he claimed to have discovered it, and to have seen its sedentary inhabitants and their strange buildings, is absolutely gratuitous. Neither Cabeza de Vaca in his book, nor the three Spaniards jointly in their official report, make the slightest allusion to such a claim on their part. It may be, that the large houses or villages of which they claim to have heard, while in the Sierra Madre, and four degrees of latitude south of the southern limit of the Pueblos in the sixteenth century,¹ were those of Pueblos; but it might also be that the Jovas (whom, by the way, they could hardly understand) referred to past reminiscences, alluding to the remains of Casa Grande in Arizona, or to those of Casas Grandes in Northwestern Chihuahua.²

Nevertheless, while the four Spanish travellers were not the discoverers of the North American Southwest, their reports still gave the first impulse to explorations of the countries north of the present Mexican boundary, and to their ultimate incorporation into the Spanish dominions. The return of Cabeza de Vaca opened a new era in Spanish advance upon North American soil. It inflamed the hearts

¹ The most southerly Pueblos in New Mexico were, as I shall prove on another occasion, those of the Piros at Trenaquel and Qualacû, both in the vicinity of the present town of San Marcial, on the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad; and on the Rio Grande I found the ruins of Trenaquel in 1882. San Marcial lies still 152 miles north of El Paso del Norte.

² The Casa Grande in Arizona was a Pima town, and the Casas Grandes in Chihuahua were probably Opata settlements. Both had been in ruins for long years previous to the sixteenth century. The Southern Pimas, however, dwelt in houses similar to those of these ruins as late as the middle of the seventeenth century. Ribas, *Historia*, pp. 360, 371. There is a passage in Oviedo's synopsis of the joint report that deserves to be noticed (*Historia*, p. 610): "Decianles aquellos indios que por toda aquella costa del Sur hacia el Norte (que mejor se puede é debe llamar, no del Sur sino septentrional) avia mucha gente é mucha comida é mucho algodón, é las casas grandes; é que tenian muchas piedras turquesas, quellos las traian de allá por rescate." This would indicate that the great houses were those of Nebomes or Pimas, and not New Mexican Pueblos.

of the adventurous people that had conquered Mexico, and turned the attention of one of the greatest administrative minds of all times, the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza, towards the distant north. How and in what manner the impulse thus received was directed soon afterwards, is a fit subject for another monograph.

III.

SPANISH EFFORTS TO PENETRATE TO THE NORTH OF
SINALOA, BETWEEN THE YEARS 1536 AND 1539.

THE reports of Cabeza de Vaca, as far as they circulated, created a profound impression. We must remember, that of such reports only two are so far known to us, both written after Cabeza de Vaca had left Mexico for the mother country.¹ It is certain, however, that another relation of the adventures and sufferings of the four wanderers had already been made by them at Culiacan, and forwarded to the Viceroy from that place; but we do not know what it contains, unless Herrera has derived from it portions of his information.² At all events, the arrival of the four castaways and the tale of their marvellous deeds remained forever grafted upon the public mind; and although their statements were far from being detailed or very definite, they sufficed to direct attention to the regions they had traversed, and to those of which they had heard.

The right to discover and explore was not as free then as it was at the time when Anglo-American pioneers began to reconnoitre the Great West.³ Besides, New Spain had only

¹ His book, *Naufragios*, and the joint report in Oviedo.

² Herrera, *Historia General* (Decada vi. lib. i. cap. vii. p. 11): "I de todo lo demas aqui referido hicieron declaracion, con juramento ante Escrivano a quince de Maio de este año." This would seem to indicate that Herrera obtained his information from that document. Oviedo (*Historia*, vol. iii. p. 614) also speaks of a direct report to the King, but he himself followed the report to the Audiencia of Santo Domingo.

³ Compare the Royal Ordinances of November 17, 1526, in *Autos del Marques del Valle, Panfilo de Narvaez, etc.* (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. xvi. p. 78). Even

a small Spanish population, and the means at the disposal of that population were limited, as was natural on account of its recent establishment. The rich mines, those which subsequently laid the foundations for enormous individual wealth, were not yet discovered,¹ and nothing of importance could be attempted without both the sanction and the material assistance of the Crown and its highest representatives. When, therefore, (the tales of Cabeza de Vaca became known, they excited a lively desire to explore the North,) but nobody felt safe to attempt it unless patronized by the government.

That government was in the hands of Don Antonio de Mendoza, and of the Royal Audiencia, but not absolutely. Under the Spanish régime nobody was absolute but the monarch, and he was so hemmed in and hampered by the very powers in society, state, and church by which he was apparently supported, that he was himself in reality the least independent of all. No functionary of the Indies, whether the highest or the most insignificant, felt absolutely secure in any of his actions. At the end of his term of office, there was the "Residencia," or official inquest into the manner in which he had performed his duties, whereas the dreaded "Visita," or secret investigation, could surprise him at any moment, while he was yet in full enjoyment of dignity and power.² And for such sudden interrup-

more stringent is the *Codice de Leyes y Ordenanzas Nueuamente hechas por su Magestad para la Gouernacion de las Yndias, etc.* (*Ibid.*, p. 392, et seq.).

¹ The mine, or vein or lode, of San Bernabé, at Zacatecas, was discovered on the 11th of June, 1548. Mota-Padilla, *Historia de la Nueva Galicia*, p. 195. In the same year, those of the Albarrada and the vein of Pánuco were discovered. But the richness of the ores of Zacatecas had already been noticed, and reported to the Viceroy, in 1546. *Ibid.*

² The following excellent definition of the terms "Residencia" and "Visita" is given by Sr. Garcia Ycazbalceta in the "Noticia de las Piezas contenidas en este Volúmen," *Documentos para la Historia de México*, vol. ii. p. xxviii: "La Visita se verificaba en cualquier tiempo por comision especial del soberano; pero sin suspender en el ejercicio de su empleo á la persona cuya conducta se trataba

tions of the career of officers of high standing, a pretext, if not a legitimate cause, might always be found. Not that in this respect Spain was an exception; other countries and other times have presented the same spectacle, modified by local conditions. Spanish America was still "booming," and American dignitaries had to keep a watchful eye on competitors from abroad. At the same time, the Crown had begun to establish a system of perpetual investigation, so to speak, in the Indies, by exacting periodical reports, not from the heads of the viceroyalties or from the great tribunals alone, but from inferior officers, ecclesiastics, and sometimes from special inspectors sent without the knowledge of the Viceroy and Audiencias.¹ It was a post of great honor and responsibility, that of chief magistrate of New Spain or of Peru, but also a dangerous post, and one which, properly considered, exposed the incumbent to such perils that he was not to be envied for securing it.

Don Antonio de Mendoza was fully aware of all this, and did nothing except with mature consideration. He had a powerful rival within his own territory,—no less a personage than the conqueror of Mexico, Cortés himself. At Guatemala, he had a former companion of Cortés, Pedro de Alvarado, a man of great energy and popularity. Nuño de Guzman, recently recalled from his government, and now a prisoner in Spain for his manifold crimes, was no friend of the Viceroy's; and although under a cloud, Guzman was personally nearer

de investigar. El proceso era rigurosamente secreto, sin comunicacion de los cargos ni de las declaraciones de los testigos. El visitador no sentenciaba, sino que remitia cerrado el proceso original al consejo de Indias, donde se pronunciaba la sentencia sin apelacion. La Residencia, por el contrario, se tomaba al dejar el empleo; era publico el proceso, y admitia muchos medios de defensa."

¹ An interesting statement in regard to such reports, from the most varied sources, both civil and ecclesiastic, is found in Orozco y Berra, *Apuntes para la Historia de la Geografia en Mexico*, 1881 (paragraph xi. pp. 155-176).

the Court and the Council of the Indies than Mendoza himself. To keep these three powerful men apart was a duty which the Viceroy owed not only to himself, but also to the Emperor whom he represented; for either of them would have brought calamity upon New Spain, had he succeeded in his endeavor to secure supreme authority. Cortés would have jeopardized the interests of the Crown by attempting to achieve the independence he originally coveted; Alvarado was not capable of administering a realm so vast and complicated as Mexico and its dependencies; and as for Guzman, his former career showed what might be expected of him. But all three had their friends in court, and any one of them might, at a given moment, obtain an ascendancy fatal to the Viceroy, as well as to the future of the country.

The conduct of Cortés towards Mendoza is in strange contrast with the conduct of Mendoza towards him. Whereas the former stormed, and annoyed the Court with petitions and complaints that could not fail, in the end, to weary even his friends, Mendoza maintained an attitude almost of dignified indifference. He seldom took notice of the accusations of the Marqués del Valle, and was more bent upon winning over the latter's former lieutenant, Alvarado, than upon conciliating or refuting the great conqueror himself. Alvarado was under the influence of a severe check, which he deeply felt; the ill success of his expedition to Ecuador, in South America. That enterprise had depleted his treasury; and, indeed, it is noteworthy, and may be remarked here, that most of those Spanish conquerors who had achieved wealth in the discovery of the Indies at that time soon lost a large proportion of it in new ventures. Alvarado alone was therefore no power, or at least but a small one; yet he might become in time an invaluable auxiliary against both Cortés and Guzman.

The concession to Cortés to explore the coast of the Pacific Ocean antedated the accession of Mendoza to the viceroyalty of New Spain, by at least six years.¹ There was nothing to change in this. The Viceroy wisely forbore to interfere with any expeditions which the Marqués set on foot by sea. He saw that they invariably failed, and that the great but dangerous man was wasting his means and his energy. Only when Cortés pretended to claim inland territory upon the strength of discoveries along the coast of Lower California did matters grow more serious; but even then it was too late for the Marqués to accomplish anything, and the failure of Coronado's expedition also put a damper on hopes and expectations directed towards the northern regions.²

Alvarado had obtained permission to set on foot maritime explorations in the South Sea as early as 1526.³ He was therefore also "in the field,"—officially at least,—and even a competitor of his former commander, Cortés. Mendoza cautiously approached the Governor of Guatemala, and brought him over to his side by degrees, the more easily as Cortés took towards Alvarado an attitude openly hostile.⁴ The Viceroy thus kept his opponents at bay, by befriending the least dangerous of them, and leaving them undisturbed in their mutual disagreement. It is quite likely, that, in acting

¹ This concession was at least implied in the documents emanating from the King in the year 1523. Herrera, *Historia*, Decada iii. lib. v. p. 153. The title, however, of Captain General of the South Sea bears the date of July 6, 1529. *Titulo de Capitan General de la Nueva España y Costa del Sur, expedido a Favor de Hernan Cortes por el Emperador Carlos V.* (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. iv. p. 572). Mendoza was appointed Viceroy of New Spain in 1535. Cavo, *Los Tres Siglos en Mexico*, p. 80.

² The first direct complaint of Cortés against Mendoza bears date June 25, 1540. This is the document in which the Marqués del Valle claims for himself the discovery of the countries which Fray Marcos had actually discovered.

³ *Autos del Marques del Valle, etc., ut supra.*

⁴ *Proceso del Marques del Valle y Nuño de Guzman y los Adelantados Soto y Alvarado, sobre el Descubrimiento de la Tierra Nueva, 1541* (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. xv. pp. 300-408).

thus, he but followed secret instructions, or at least a plan which had the full assent of the highest powers.

Still he had to exercise the greatest caution. The viceroyalty was a much coveted office, and despite the confidence which he enjoyed from the Emperor, his head, figuratively speaking, was never safe. It is not surprising, therefore, that he proceeded slowly and with the utmost circumspectness, and did not hasten in the least to follow the vague pointers which Cabeza de Vaca and his companions had given to him about the North, by attempting immediately anything on a larger scale.¹

Notwithstanding the rapid conquests of Guzman, progress by the Spaniards towards the interior of Mexico was slow. This was mostly due to the condition of the Indian tribes occupying the region. Once beyond the Tarascos of Michhuacan, the whites met only with less domesticated groups. These afforded no foothold for the establishment of colonies, in which, of necessity, a small number of Europeans had to form a pivot, around which were to revolve henceforth clusters of natives. The powerful tribes of the Nayaes, occupying the Northwest of Guadalajara, and the Teules Chichimecas, still nearer to the modern city last named, defended the entrance to the mountain fastnesses of their ranges with great tenacity. Their resistance was the more

¹ Even the outfit which he gave to Andrés Dorantes, and of which I shall make mention hereafter, entailed but very little expense to the government. *Lettre de Don Antonio de Mendoza à l'Empereur Charles Quint* (Ternaux-Compans, *Cibola*, Appendix, p. 287): "J'eus de fréquents entretiens avec lui; je pensai qu'il pouvait rendre un grand service à votre majesté, si je l'expédiais avec quarante ou cinquante chevaux et tous les objets nécessaires pour découvrir ce pays. Je dépensai beaucoup d'argent pour l'expédition," etc. Still, the actual expense cannot have been very great. Horses had already multiplied in Mexico, and the other supplies were meagre. In thinking of supplies, one must not imagine anything corresponding to commissary stores, in the present sense of that term. Supplies at that time meant not more than barely enough to eat for a limited space of time.

formidable, since they were not strictly sedentary groups, although living in villages and planting corn.¹ The very lack of organization in these tribes was, at least for a time, an element of resistance. They were conquered only after they had been compelled to agglomerate, or temporarily consolidate, and the last of their numbers held out until the year 1722.² Of the linguistic status of these tribes we have but scanty information. Orozco y Berra classifies the Coras or Nayaes with the Pima-Opata-Tarahumar group of languages; consequently, among the Numa or Shoshonis.³ But the idioms have not yet been subjected to a scientific investigation. It is also likely that many of the Indian dialects or languages of the country are lost, although the assertions of Orozco y Berra are to be taken in this respect also with a great deal of allowance.⁴

The attitude of these tribes prevented the Spaniards, on the one hand, from penetrating at once farther inland; on the other, it rendered the Pacific coast the more valuable as a pass, so to speak, through which colonization might creep up beyond, and ultimately around, the hostile territory. On that coast and north of Michuacan, dialects of the Nahuatl language were spoken in Colima and Jalisco. The tribes were autonomous, being independent of one another, and of any other larger group of aborigines. The spread of Spanish sway was easier since there were more facilities for mutual understanding. The country also was less adapted to protracted resistance in the ways practised by the Indians, the

¹ There are a number of original documents concerning both the Nayaes and the Teules Chichimecas. It would require too much space to refer to them in detail.

² In regard to the final reduction of the Nayaes, compare *Apostolicos Afanes de la Compañia de Jesus*, 1754, lib. i. cap. vii. to the end of the book.

³ *Geografia de Lenguas*, pp. 279, *et seq.* The classification of the Pima-Opata-Tarahumar idioms among the Shoshoni languages is due to Mr. A. Gatschet.

⁴ Orozco y Berra, *Geografia*, p. 282.

shore being scarcely inhabited. Farther north, in Sinaloa, similar conditions prevailed. In short, it was only on the confines of Sonora that the whites met with an opposition capable of arresting their progress for some time. There they found themselves confronted by a linguistic group, which, while also subdivided into a number of tribes, still could coalesce when required, and present a solid front to aggressors. One branch of that stock, the Mayas, were of a yielding disposition, but the northern group, the Cahita or Yaquis, persevered in their attitude of determined hostility for nearly a century, constituting a barrier which only the courage and shrewdness of the celebrated Spanish captain, Martin Hurdaide, was at last able to break down.¹

The recent settlement of Culiacan, in Northern Sinaloa, was the farthest point whither Spanish colonization had penetrated in 1536. As yet that station had attained but a limited development. It was a feeble frontier post. We have seen, in the course of investigations concerning Cabeza de Vaca's journey, what sort of people were the Spaniards who represented civilization beyond Culiacan and in Southern Sonora. A report in regard to the doings of Alcaráz and Cebreros was sent to head-quarters (which at that time were at Compostela, in Jalisco) and thence to Mexico, and it became an urgent necessity to put a check upon such and similar abuses. If Alcaráz and his compeers were not severely punished at once, it was only because of the distance, and the impossibility of filling their place by others. The distance from Culiacan to the nearest post, Chiametla, was great, and Chiametla itself but a mere hamlet, with a few

¹ On the languages of Colima and Jalisco see the work of Orozco y Berra. In regard to the relations between the Yaquis and the Spaniards, compare chiefly Ribas, *Historia de los Triunfos de Nuestra Santa Fe, etc.*, 1645. The entire fifth book of this valuable work is devoted to the Yaquis, and to the wars preceding their submission to Spanish authority.

armed men to guard it against surprise. Unoccupied deserts lay between the two places, few Indians dwelt near the trails, and those in the interior were seldom approachable. The colony at Culiacan was maintained as a forlorn hope, with the expectation that at some future day it might perhaps become a valuable basis of operations.¹

It seems that, at the time, the Spaniards had almost overawed even the warlike Yaquis. A single action of importance had been fought between the warriors of that powerful tribe and the Spaniards. This occurred during the time of Nuño de Guzman's murderous incursions. The superiority of the Spanish arms quickly decided the contest, and the Yaquis had not had time since then to familiarize themselves with the new-comers to such an extent as to lose the superstitious dread which this first engagement had created. It seems, also, that the Spaniards at Culiacan dared not penetrate much beyond the Sinaloa River, the Rio de Petatlan — to-day called Rio del Fuerte — being usually the ultimate limit of their raids. They rather pushed towards the mountains, whither the Indians of the lower countries had retreated. Few discoveries had been made of mines, but there was hope of finding more by penetrating into the mountains to the east, the Sierra Madre, where the Spaniards understood that very rich ores existed. The post of Culiacan was not fitted to become a starting point for independent expeditions.

I have stated in the preceding monograph, that Cabeza de Vaca and Castillo Maldonado left Mexico for Spain in the winter of 1537. Andrés Dorantes alone remained in the

¹ In 1570, Chiametla had about a dozen families; Culiacan about twenty-five. *Informe al Rey por el Cabildo Ecclesiastico del Guadalupe, 1570* (*Doc. para la Historia de Mexico*, Ycazbalceta, vol. ii. p. 493). Chiametla is in the extreme southern part of Sinaloa; Culiacan in the northern, though not near the frontier of Sonora.

country. From a letter of the Viceroy to the Emperor, (date unknown, but probably of the year 1539,) it appears that Dorantes made arrangements with Mendoza to conduct an exploring party into the North, and that, after all the preparations had been made, the matter was given up without the Viceroy knowing why or wherefore. Mendoza had to be very careful in assuming responsibilities, and it is probable that the support given to Dorantes, to wit, forty or fifty horses and the necessary supplies, was not adequate, it being evident that Dorantes was without means of his own. It seems the latter got under way, but never achieved anything. Mendoza candidly avers, "I spent much money in behalf of the expedition, but know not how it came that it had no results." All that remained of the extensive preparations were the negro Estevanico, a few slaves recently purchased by the Viceroy for the expedition, and some Indians from the northern countries.

It seems that the Viceroy caused a certain number of Indians from Northern Sinaloa (principally from the new settlement of Bamoa) to be brought to the city of Mexico, where they were taught the Spanish language and educated in the Christian religion. This he had done in view of eventual undertakings towards the north. The education of these people is said to have been intrusted to a Franciscan missionary, Fray Marcos, born at the city of Nizza, which at that time was included in the Duchy of Savoy. On account of his origin, the friar, whose other name is never mentioned, was and has remained known as Fray Marcos of Nizza.

Beyond the place of birth, nothing is known as yet of the career of this ecclesiastic previous to his appearance in the New World. This took place in 1531, when he went to the island of Santo Domingo with six other monks, and thence to Peru in the year following. He was present at the

capture of the Peruvian war-chief, Atahualpa, at Caxamarca. After remaining several years in Peru and Quito, he returned to Mexico via Nicaragua and the Isthmus (probably with Pedro de Alvarado). His first work in New Spain seems to have been in Jalisco, where he officiated as missionary. He soon assumed a position of prominence among the regular clergy of his order in Mexico, to such an extent as to be elected Provincial in 1540, or after a residence of only a few years in the country.¹ He had already written, according to his translator and detractor, Ternaux-Compans, three works or reports on the Indians of Peru and Quito, the accuracy of which was strongly impugned by Cortés. The reasons for the severity of Cortés in regard to the writings of a monk who never did him any harm become plain, when we consider that Cortés was then claiming, as discoveries of his own, the countries which Father Marcos visited in North America. The conqueror of Mexico, after his failures in California, shrunk from nothing, stooped to anything, that might re-establish his waning prestige. At all events, the Provincial of the Franciscan order in Mexico, Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, issued to Fray Marcos the following testimonial, under date of August 29, 1539, after the latter's return from his trip in quest of the Seven Cities:—

“I, the undersigned, etc., certify that it is true that I have despatched Fray Marcos of Nizza, a regular priest, pious, endowed with every virtue and utter devotion; that I have

¹ The earliest biography of Fray Marcos at my disposal is that by Fray Geronimo de Mendieta, *Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana*, written about 1598, but published only in 1870 by Sr. Garcia Ycazbalceta (pp. 400, 541, 674, etc.). He does not give the dates of the friar's arrival in America, in Peru, etc. Torquemada (*Monarchia*, vol. iii. p. 499) gives the date, “el qual partio para esta Nueva España el año de 1531.” A short biography is also given by Fray Agustin de Vetancurt, *Menologio Franciscano*, edition of 1871, p. 117. He gives all the dates above mentioned, also on page 174. As I shall have to treat of Fray Marcos in a special article, I refrain from extensive quoting for the present.

approved of him, I and my brothers, the Deputed Definers, whose advice I take in important and difficult cases, and that he has been approved and acknowledged as capable of making this journey of discovery, not only on account of the qualities above mentioned, but also owing to his knowledge in theology, and even in cosmography and in navigation."¹

With the appearance of Fray Marcos upon the scene of explorations in the North, a certain confusion sets in about events immediately following, and he himself has been the subject of misrepresentation for three centuries. It may well be said, that for more than three hundred and thirty-three years Fray Marcos of Nizza has been the worst slandered man known in history.

The confusion to which I allude relates to the period between the return of Cabeza de Vaca to Spain and Fray Marcos's remarkable journey in quest of the Seven Cities in 1539; and it arises from the fact, that, while the documents emanating from the Viceroy on the subject, as far as they are known to me, attribute all the efforts made within the two years mentioned to Fray Marcos himself, other sources speak of efforts of the same kind made by other priests of the same order, antedating the attempts of the Savoyan friar. Strange it is, also, that the sources of the second class assert that those friars were sent out by the same Viceroy who distinctly affirms that he despatched Fray Marcos, and who makes no mention of any other exploring party. I confess

¹ Fray Antonio de Cibdad Rodrigo, *Certificacion* (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. iii. p. 328): "Digo Yo . . . ques verdad que yo envié á Fra. Marcos de Niza, sacerdote, fraile, presbitero y religioso y en toda virtud y religion tal, que de mi y de mis hermanos los definidores diputados para dellos tomar consejo en las cosas arduas y dificultosas, fué aprobado y habido por idoneo y suficiente para hacer esta jornada y descubrimiento, asi por la suficiencia arriba dicha de su persona, como por ser docto, no solamente en la teologia, pero aun en la cosmografia y en el arte de la mar." My translation is from the French version of Ternaux-Compans in the Appendix to *Voyage de Cibola*, p. 254.

that I find the dilemma almost a hopeless one, and must limit myself to a statement of what all the sources afford on the subject, rendering it literally, and thus enabling readers to form their opinions independently of my own suggestions.

In his letter to the Emperor, Don Antonio de Mendoza expresses himself as follows:—

“By the last vessels, on which Miguel Usnago has gone, I wrote to your Majesty that I had despatched two ecclesiastics of the Order of Saint Francis to discover the cape of the mainland which runs in the direction of the North. As this journey has exceeded all my hopes, I will begin with entertaining your Majesty concerning it.” The Viceroy then treats at length of the different expeditions organized by Cortés by sea. After mentioning the failure of Dorantes, he continues: “Of all these preparations which I had made, I had nothing left but a negro who came with Dorantes, a few slaves I had bought, and Indians, natives of the country, whom I had caused to be gathered. I despatched them with the Friar Marcos of Nizza, and another ecclesiastic of the order of Saint Francis. These friars had long resided in the neighboring countries, were inured to hardships, experienced in matters of the Indies, conscientious, and of good morals. I requested their Provincial to grant them to me. They left with Francisco Vazquez Coronado, Governor of New Galicia, and went to San Miguel de Culiacan, the most remote place in that government inhabited by Spaniards, and two hundred leagues from Mexico. When the Governor arrived there with the friars, he commanded some Indians whom I had given to him to act as his guides to inform the natives that your Majesty had forbidden that they should be reduced to slavery. I induced them to be no longer afraid to come back to their homes and live quietly. They had indeed been much ill-treated in the beginning. He told them that your Majesty

had chastised the guilty ones. Ten days afterwards, these Indians returned, to the number of about four hundred, appeared before the Governor, and told him that they came in behalf of all the inhabitants, to see and to know those who did them so much good, allowing them to return to their homes and plant corn; for it was a long time that they had been scattered through the mountains, hiding like wild beasts for fear of being reduced to slavery. They added, that they and their companions were ready to comply with the orders that would be given them. The Governor consoled them, had supplies distributed among them, and kept three or four of their number. The priests taught these to make the sign of the cross and to pronounce the name of Jesus Christ, our Lord. These people displayed much good will to learn. A few days afterwards they were sent back to their homes with the assurance that they would not be disturbed. Clothing, knives, 'Agnus,' and other similar objects which I had sent for the purpose, were given to them, and these Indians returned home well pleased, saying that, at any time they were sent for, they would come at once to obey the orders which they might receive.

"When the journey of discovery was thus securely prepared, Friar Marcos, his friend, the negro, other slaves, and Indians whom I had given to them, left, after having spent twelve days in making their preparations. I had also heard of a province called Topira, situated in the heart of the mountains, and had ordered the Governor to take informations in regard to that country. Considering that it was a matter of importance, I determined upon setting out in person to visit it. I had arranged with the ecclesiastic to rejoin him in the mountains, at a town called Corazones, one hundred and twenty leagues from Culiacan. When he reached that province, he saw, as I stated in my letters, that there was lack

of food. The mountains were so steep that he found no way of crossing them, and was compelled to return to San Miguel. So it seems that God, either through the choice that was made of the road, or the difficulty of finding a path, has opposed Himself to all those who intended to carry out the enterprise with human power, and has reserved it for an humble barefooted friar. He is beginning to penetrate into the interior of the country, has been very well received, as he has written below the instructions which I gave him, adding an account of everything that happened on his last journey. I shall not continue any further on the subject, and will transcribe to your Majesty what he has himself reported.”¹

¹ *Première Lettre de Don Antonio de Mendoza à l'Empereur Charles V. (Cibola, Appendix, p. 285, et seq.).* I prefer to give the text also, in order to enable the student to detect any error or misunderstanding on my part. My translation only aspires to be literal, without regard to fluency or style in general, and this observation applies equally to the other translations of documents in this monograph.

“Par les derniers navires, sur lesquels est parti Miguel Usnago, j'ai écrit à votre majesté que j'avais expédié deux religieux de l'ordre de Saint-François pour découvrir le cap de la Terre-Ferme qui court dans la direction du Nord. Comme ce voyage a surpassé toutes les espérances, je vais commencer par en entretenir votre majesté. . . . De tous les préparatifs que j'avais faits, il ne me resta qu'un nègre qui est venu avec Dorantes, quelques esclaves que j'avais achetés, et des Indiens, naturels de ce pays, que j'avais fait rassembler. Je les expédiai avec Frère Marcos de Niza, et un autre religieux de l'ordre de Saint-François. Ces frères avaient longtemps habité les pays voisins; ils étaient habitués à la fatigue, expérimentés dans les affaires de l'Inde, consciencieux et de bonnes mœurs. Je priai leur provincial de me les accorder. Ils partirent avec Francisco Vazquez Coronado, gouverneur de la Nouvelle Galice, et se rendirent à San-Miguel de Culiacan, dernière place de ce gouvernement, habitée par les Espagnols et éloignée de deux cents lieues de Mexico. Quand le gouverneur fut arrivé dans cette ville avec les religieux, il ordonna à des Indiens que je lui avais donnés de lui servir de guides et de dire aux naturels que votre majesté avait défendu de les réduire en esclavage. Je les engageai à ne plus avoir peur, à regagner leurs demeures et à vivre tranquilles; en effet, ils avaient été fort mal traités dans le principe. Il leur dit que votre majesté avait puni les coupables. Dix jours après, ces Indiens revinrent au nombre d'environ quatre cents; ils se présentèrent au gouverneur, et lui dirent qu'ils venaient de la part de tous les habitants pour voir et connaître ceux qui leur faisaient tant de bien, les

This literal translation is taken from the French version made by Ternaux-Compans, that being the only copy at my command. At the bottom of the page, in a foot-note, the translator adds : "This letter was accompanied by the report of Friar Marcos of Nizza, which we have given in this Appendix under No. II."¹

laissaient retourner chez eux, semer du maïs ; car il y avait bien longtemps qu'ils fuyaient dans les montagnes, se cachaient comme des bêtes sauvages dans la crainte qu'on ne les fit esclaves. Ils ajoutèrent, qu'eux et tous leurs compatriotes étaient prêts à obéir aux ordres qu'on leur donnerait. Le gouverneur les consola, leur fit distribuer des vivres, et en garda trois ou quatre avec lui. Les religieux leur apprirent à faire le signe de la croix, à prononcer le nom de Jésus-Christ, notre Seigneur, et ces gens montrèrent beaucoup de bonne volonté pour s'instruire. Quelques jours après on les renvoya chez eux en leur disant de se tranquiliser. On leur donna des habits, des agnus, des couteaux et d'autres objets semblables que j'avais envoyés dans cette intention. Ces Indiens s'en allèrent fort satisfaits, et dirent que chaque fois qu'on les ferait appeler, ils viendraient pour obéir aux ordres qu'on leur donnerait.

"Quand le voyage de découverte fut ainsi assuré, Frère Marcos, son ami, le nègre, d'autres esclaves et des Indiens que je leur avais donnés, partirent après avoir employé douze jours à leurs préparatifs. J'avais aussi entendu parler d'une province nommée Topira, qui est située au milieu des montagnes, et j'avais donné l'ordre au gouverneur de prendre des informations sur ce pays. Considérant que c'était une affaire importante, je résolus de partir en personne pour la visiter. J'avais arrêté avec le religieux que je le rejoindrais dans les montagnes, à une ville nommée Los Corazones, éloignée de cent vingt lieues de Culiacan. Quand il fut arrivé dans cette province, il vit ainsi que je l'ai dit dans mes lettres, qu'on y manquait de vivres. Les montagnes étaient si escarpées, qu'il ne trouva aucun chemin pour les traverser, et il fut forcé de retourner à San Miguel. De sorte qu'il semble que Dieu, soit par le choix que l'on ait fait de la route, soit par la difficulté de trouver un chemin, ait voulu s'opposer à tous ceux qui par les forces humaines ont essayé de mettre fin à cette entreprise, et que son désir est de le faire connaître à un humble frère déchaussé. Il commence à pénétrer dans l'intérieur du pays ; il a été parfaitement reçu, ainsi qu'il l'a écrit au-dessous de l'instruction que je lui ai donnée, avec tout ce qui lui est arrivé dans son dernier voyage. Je ne m'étendrai pas davantage sur ce sujet, et je transcrirai à votre majesté ce qu'il a rapporté lui-même."

¹ "Cette lettre était accompagnée de la relation du frère Marcos de Niza que nous avons donnée dans cet appendice sous le no. ii." As the report of Fray Marcos has been translated by Ternaux-Compans from the Italian of the work of Ramusio, Volume III., it is likely that the letter of Mendoza was also rendered in French after the Italian. I have not the work of Ramusio.

There is no date to the letter of Mendoza, but it was, at all events, posterior to the 20th of November, 1538, and prior to September of the year following.¹

The statements of the Viceroy are not of that clearness which we might desire. Yet it seems that he sent out no monks to explore the country except Fray Marcos and his companion. If Ternaux-Compans has faithfully translated, it would appear that Fray Marcos made two attempts, — one towards the Corazones in Sonora, which failed, and another on which he reached Cibola, and of which we cannot speak here. Neither does the Viceroy state whether he sent any priest or priests along with Dorantes. There are doubtless official documents extant, probably in Spain, which would throw light on the subject, since Mendoza refers to other letters of his to the Emperor; but not having access to them, I must try to solve the riddle with the material at hand.

Neither Gomara nor Bernal Diez del Castillo, two contemporaneous writers, nor Herrera, who had access to the archives and state papers, mentions any exploration except that by Fray Marcos of Nizza.

An eyewitness of the times, and one who wrote in the same year that Coronado made his famous journey to New Mexico (1540-41), the celebrated missionary, Fray Toribio de Paredes, better known as Motolinia, gives the following version of the explorations made in 1538:—

“In this same year the said provincial, Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, sent two friars by the coast of the South Sea around to the north, through Jalisco and New Galicia,

¹ Fray Marcos received the instructions of the Viceroy on November 20, 1538. He was at Mexico on the 2d of September, 1539. Consequently the above letter must have been written between these two dates; nay, after the 7th of March (old style), 1539, as the friar had already left Culiacan when the Viceroy wrote, and the monk's departure from Culiacan took place on the last mentioned date.

with a captain who was on a voyage of discovery. As soon as they were beyond the part of that coast that is discovered, known, and conquered, they met with two roads, well open and plain. The captain made the choice, and went by the right-hand road that deflected towards the interior, and after a few days' journey got into mountains so rugged that his party could not cross them, and he was obliged to turn back by the same road he had come. Of the two friars, one fell sick, and the other, with two interpreters, took the road to the left that led towards the coast, finding it always open and plain, and in a few days' march reached a country inhabited by poor people, who came out to receive him, calling him a messenger from heaven, and as such they all touched him and kissed his garments. From day to day he was accompanied by three and four hundred persons, and sometimes by more, of whom, when it was time to eat, some went out to hunt game, of which there was an abundance, chiefly hares, rabbits, and deer ; and they, who are so expert in hunting, in a short time got all they wanted, and, giving first to the friar, divided among themselves what they had. In this manner he travelled more than three hundred leagues, and on nearly the whole route had notice of a country inhabited by many people who were clothed, and who have houses constructed of sod and of many stories. It is said that these people are settled on the shores of a great river, where there are enclosed villages, and at times the chiefs of those villages are at war with the others ; and it is said that beyond that river there are other villages, larger and more wealthy. What they say that there are in the villages on the first shores are small cows, smaller than those of Spain, and other animals different from those of Castile ; good clothing, not only of cotton, but also of wool ; and that there are sheep from which that wool is taken. It is not known what kind of sheep they might be.

These people use shirts and dresses with which they cover their bodies. They have shoes that cover the whole foot,—a thing thus far met with nowhere else. From these villages also many turquoises are obtained, of which, and of all the other things I mention here, there were some among the poor people where the friar was. Not that such objects would be produced in the land of the poor Indians, but because they brought it from the large villages whither they at times went to work and earn their living, as day-laborers are wont to do in Spain.”¹

¹ *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España* (vol. i. of the *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, by Sr. G. Ycazbalceta, Tratado III. capitulo v. p. 171): “Este mismo año envió este mismo provincial Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, dos frailes por la costa del Mar del Sur, la vuelta hacia el Norte por Xalisco y por la Nueva Galicia, con un capitan que iba á descubrir; y yá que pasaban la tierra que por aquella costa está descubierta y conocida y conquistada, hallaron dos caminos bien abiertos; el capitan escogió y se fué por el camino de la derecha, que declinaba la tierra adentro, el cual á muy pocas jornadas dió en unas sierras tan ásperas, que no las pudieron pasar; le fué forzado volverse por el mismo camino que habia ido. De los dos frailes adoleció el uno, y el otro con dos interpretes tomó por el camino de la mano izquierda, que iba hacia la costa, y hallólo siempre abierto y seguido; y á pocas jornadas dió en tierra poblada de gente pobre los cuales salieron á él llamandole mensajero del cielo, y como tal le tocaban todos y besaban el habito: acompañabanle de jornada en jornada trescientas y cuatrocientas personas, y á veces muchas mas, de los cuales algunos en siendo hora de comer iban á caza, de la cual habia mucha, mayormente de liebres, conejos y venados, y ellos que se saben dar buena maña, en poco espacio tomaban cuanto querian; y dando primero al fraile, repartian entre si lo que habia. De esta manera anduvo mas de trescientas leguas, y casi en todo este camino tuvo noticia de una tierra poblada de gente vestida, y que tienen casas de terrado, y de muchos sobrados. Estas gentes dicen estar pobladas á la ribera de un gran rio, á do hay muchos pueblos cercados, y á tiempos tienen guerras los señores de los pueblos contra los otros; y dicen que pasado aquel rio, hay otros pueblos mayores y mas ricos. Lo que hay en los pueblos que están en la primera ribera dicen que son vacas menores que las de España, y otros animales muy diferentes de los de Castilla; buena ropa, no solo de algodón mas tambien de lana, y que hay ovejas de que se saca aquella lana: estas ovejas no se sabe de que manera serán. Esta gente usan de camisas y vestiduras con qué se cubren sus cuerpos. Tienen zapatos enteros que cubren todo el pié, lo cual no se ha hallado en todo lo hasta ahora descubierto. Tambien traen de aquellos pueblos muchas turquesas, las cuales

There is much in the above statements of Motolinia that recalls the report of Fray Marcos of Nizza on his journey to Cibola in 1539. But in the very year Motolinia wrote, Fray Marcos was Provincial of the Order, consequently his immediate superior, and Fray Toribio would not have failed to state that his Provincial had made the discovery, provided he meant to allude to the journey of Fray Marcos, and not to another expedition previous to it executed by another less prominent monk of Saint Francis.

It is also noteworthy that Motolinia says the monk spoke of the villages (by which the New Mexican pueblos are evidently meant) only from hearsay, and that he did not see them himself. Fray Marcos saw the Zuñi villages. On the other hand, many details recall the journey of Fray Marcos; as, for instance, the fact that his companion fell sick and had to remain behind, the report about turquoises obtained from the pueblos through trade and personal services, and so forth.

Fifty-six years later, another great monk, Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta states in his "*Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana*"¹:—

y todo le demas que aqui digo habia entre aquella gente pobre adonde llegó el fraile; no que en sus tierras se criasen, sino que las traian de aquellos pueblos grandes adonde iban á tiempos á trabajar, y á ganar su vida como hacen en España los jornaleros."

The copy of Motolinia's work at the Escorial, published under the title of *Ritos Antiguos, Sacrificios é Idolatrias de los Indios de la Nueva España y de su Conversion a la Fé, y quienes Fueron los que Primero la Predicaron*, has the same text as above.

¹ Published in 1870 by Don Joaquin Garcia Ycazbalceta (lib. iv. cap. xi. p. 398, *et seq.*): "En el mismo año de treinta y ocho envió otros dos frailes por tierra y por la misma costa del mar del sur la vuelta hacia el norte por Jalisco y la Nueva Galicia. Y yendo estos dos frailes acompañados con un capitan, que iba tambien á descubrir nuevas tierras (aunque con diferentes fines), ya que pasaban la tierra que por aquella parte estaba descubierta, conocida y conquistada, hallaron dos caminos bien abiertos. Y el capitan escogió él de la mano derecha, que parecia ir á la tierra adentro, el cual á muy pocas jornadas dió en tan ásperas sierras y peñas, que no pudiendo ir adelante, fué compelido á se volver. De los dos frailes, el uno cayó enfermo y tambien se volvió, y el otro,

"In the same year of thirty-eight, he [Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo] sent two other friars by land, and by the same coast of the South Sea, to the north, through Jalisco and New Galicia. And as these friars went in company with a captain who was also bent on discovering new lands (although with different objects in view), when they came beyond the country that was discovered, known, and conquered, they found two open roads, and the captain selected the one that led to the right, that appeared to go inland; but after a few days he found himself in the midst of rocks and mountains so rough that, not being able to proceed, he was compelled to turn back. Of the two friars, one fell sick and returned also; the other, with two Indian interpreters, took

con dos indios interpretes, tomó por el camino de la mano izquierda, que iba hacia la costa, hallándolo abierto y seguido, y á pocas jornadas, dió en tierra poblada de gente pobre, la cual salió al fraile, teniendolo y llamándolo mensajero del cielo, y así salían á él á lo tocar y besar el hábito, pensando que había caído del cielo. Acompañábanlo de jornada en jornada doscientas y trescientas personas y á las veces cuatrocientas. Y aquellos que lo acompañaban, un poco antes de medio día iban los mas de ellos á caza de liebres, conejos y venados (de qué hay mucha abundancia en aquella tierra), y como ellos se saben dar buena maña, en poco espacio traían mucha comida, y dando de ella primero al fraile, repartían entre sí lo demás. De esta manera anduvo mas de doscientas leguas, y cuasi en todo este camino tuvo noticia de una tierra muy poblada de gente vestida, y que tienen casas de terrado, y no solo de un alto, sino de muchos sobrados. Y otras gentes decían estar pobladas á la ribera de un gran río á dó hay muchos pueblos cercados, y que á tiempo tenían guerra los señores de los unos pueblos con los otros. Y que pasado aquel río estaban otros pueblos mayores y de gente mas rica. Y que también por aquellas tierras había vacas mayores que las de España, y otros animales muy diferentes de los de Castilla. Y que de aquellos pueblos traían muchas turquesas, las cuales con lo demás que está dicho había entre aquella gente pobre, no que en aquellos pueblos se criasen, ni en aquellas sus tierras, sino que las traían de los otros pueblos grandes, á dó iban á tiempos á trabajar y á ganar su vida, como hacen en España los jornaleros." I have condensed in my translation the words, "No que en aquellos pueblos se criasen, ni en *aquellas sus tierras*." Italics are mine. Noteworthy is the difference between Motolinia and Mendieta. In regard to the "cows," the former says that they are *smaller*, the other that they are *larger*, than those of Castile. Query: Could this be a sign either that both authors consulted the same source, and interpreted it differently, or that each consulted a different source?

the left-hand road, that went towards the coast, finding it open and travelled; and after a few days he came into a country inhabited by poor people, that went to meet the friar, taking him to be, and calling him, a messenger from heaven; and so they came to touch him and to kiss his clothes, thinking he had fallen from the skies. From one day to another two or three hundred persons accompanied him, and sometimes as many as four hundred. And these who accompanied him used to go out a little before noon to hunt hares, rabbits, and deer (of which there were many in the country); and as these people are very expert, they gathered much food in a very short time, of which they gave the friar first, and divided the rest among themselves. In this manner he travelled over two hundred leagues, and on nearly the whole stretch had notice of a land much populated by people who wore dresses, and had houses of sod, not only with one, but of many stories. And it was said that other people dwelt on the shores of a large river where there are many enclosed villages, and that from time to time the chiefs of one village had war with those of another, and that beyond that river were other villages still larger, and with rich people. And that also in that country there were cows larger than those of Spain, and other animals very different from those of Castile. And that from those villages they brought many turquoises, some of which, and of the other things there, were found among the poor people;—not because their country produced them, but because they obtained them from the large villages, whither they went from time to time to work and earn their living, as day-laborers do in Spain.”

The above looks suspiciously like a copy of Motolinia; but there is an additional statement that deserves consideration. Mendieta says, further on:—

"There was, at the time, Provincial of this province of the Holy Evangile, Fray Marcos of Nizza, a native of the very city of Nizza in the Duchy of Savoy, a learned and pious man, who, in order to satisfy himself of the truth of what that friar had published, determined to suffer any exposure by taking the lead, before any others should conclude to do it, and so he went as quick as possible himself. And finding that the report and indications of the friar were true, he returned to Mexico, and confirmed what the other had said."¹

Lastly he says also: "This discourse has been made by the friar who first discovered those lands and peoples, and gave notice of them, having been sent by the Provincial, Fr. Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, in the year of thirty-eight, to convert new people."²

Mendieta was personally acquainted with Fray Marcos; he had seen him and spoken with him at Jalapa,³ in 1554, four

¹ "Era á la sazón provincial de esta provincia del Santo Evangelio Fr. Marcos de Niza, natural de la misma ciudad de Niza, en el ducado de Savoya, hombre docto y religioso, el cual, por certificarse de lo que aquel fraile habia publicado, quiso ponerse á todo trabajo tomando la delantera, antes que otros se determinasen, y fué con la mayor brevedad que pudo. Y hallando verdadera la relacion y señales que habia dado el fraile por las comarcas donde habia llegado, dió la vuelta á México y confirmó lo que el otro habia dicho."

² "Este discurso se há hecho por el fraile que primeramente descubrió aquellas tierras y gentes, y dió noticia de ellas, habiendo sido enviado por el provincial Fr. Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo el año de treinta y ocho á convertir gentes de nuevo." This passage may be interpreted in different ways. It may refer only to the journey of 1538, but it is more likely to refer to the whole of what Mendieta states; that is, to the different expeditions in quest of New Mexico up to the year 1596. At least, Mendieta places it after his remarks on the journey of Oñate, who at the time he wrote was just preparing to start. A monk who undertook hazardous explorations in 1538 might still have been alive in 1596. Admitting that he was twenty-five years old in the former year, or thirty (which was no unusual age for receiving orders), he was eighty-three or eighty-eight when Mendieta wrote of him. There is therefore some possibility that the latter might have derived his information on the journey of 1538 at first hand, and independently of the statements of Motolinia.

³ Page 541: "Y de los grandes frios que pasó, lo hallé cuando vine de España, morador en Jalapa, gafo ó tollido de pies y manos; y sintiendo," etc.

years before the death of the latter. The distinction made by him between the discoverer of Cibola and the friar of 1538 is therefore significant. Had the latter been Fray Marcos, it seems certain that Mendieta would have stated it. There is a presumption, at least, that previous to the celebrated journey of Fray Marcos the country north of Sinaloa had been partially explored by a monk of the same order. Absolute certainty cannot as yet be gathered from testimony of the sixteenth century, as far as such testimony is within my reach. It still leaves ground for suspicion, that Mendieta, and even Motolinia, may have attributed to another ecclesiastic a part of the discoveries made by Fray Marcos. We must not overlook that the latter, being a Savoyard, and treated as a Frenchman by most of the brethren of his order, was exposed to jealousy on the part of Spaniards. Still it appears probable that there were two explorations, one of which did not reach farther than about three hundred leagues (810 miles) north of Culiacan; that is, to the Gila River, or, at best, as far as the Lower Colorado. It is likely that the explorer did not, and could not, count the distances in an air line, so that all tends to indicate that the journey of the year 1538, if performed by some monk whose position was rather inferior at the time, succeeded in reaching Southern Arizona. We should then have a discovery of Arizona one year previous to that of New Mexico by Fray Marcos of Nizza.

Fray Juan de Torquemada, in his celebrated "*Monarchia Indiana*," has copied literally the manuscript of his predecessor and teacher, Mendieta.¹ Not one of the official documents from the sixteenth century at my command mentions the expedition of 1538. Fray Marcos alone appears as first explorer, and, in the century following, that monk even

¹ In the third volume, lib. xx. cap. lii. pp. 499, 500; also, lib. xix. p. 372, and lib. xxi. p. 610, *et seq.*

becomes superseded in many writings by Fray Agustin Rodriguez as the discoverer of New Mexico! It seems as if the deeds of the Savoyard missionary, nay, those of Coronado himself, had passed into oblivion. Fray Zárate-Salmeron, in 1626, however, gives an abstract of Mendieta; and Fray Agustin de Vetancurt, in 1692, refers to Fray Marcos of Nizza in a superficial way as companion of Coronado in 1540.¹

¹ Fray Gerónimo de Zárate-Salmeron, *Relaciones de Todas las Cosas que en el Nuevo Mexico se han Visto y Sabido assi por Mar como por Tierra, desde el Año de 1538, hasta el de 1626*. (Copy of MS. at Mexico, paragraph 2.) I forbear copying the paragraph. It is merely a condensed extract from the statements of Mendieta, with one exception. Fray Zarate gives the number of the soldiers that accompanied the two friars: "Estos dos Religiosos iban en compañía de un capitan y 12 soldados, los quales iban en busca de minas." Query, Where did Fray Zarate obtain these details, which are neither in Motolinia nor in Mendieta?

In regard to Vetancurt, consult his *Menologio Franciscano*, under the 25th of March, p. 117.

Two other authors of the seventeenth century speak of Fray Marcos as the first and independent discoverer of the regions of New Mexico, while they are silent about the expedition of 1538. One is Gaspar de Villagran, *Historia de la Nueva Mexico*, 1610, canto iii. fol. 15. Villagran distinctly attributes to Fray Marcos a journey of two hundred leagues to the north of Culiacan; that is, the journey made by the friars of 1538:—

"Assi determino luego de entrarse,
Por cosa de dozientas leguas largas,
Con solo vn compañero confiado,
En aquel sumo bien que nos gouierna."

"Y por enfermedad que a el compañero,
Sobrebino, que fuerça se quedase,
Y el se entro con diuino y alto esfuerço."

"Con cantidad de barbaros amigos."

The other, Luis de Cabrera, in his History of the Reign of Philip the Second, speaks of a trip of discovery made by Fray Marcos in 1542! But Cabrera also places the return of Cabeza de Vaca in 1540, and the journey of Coronado in 1544. There is consequently a constant error of four years in his dates, and his year 1542 would therefore correspond to 1538. See, in volume of *Recueil de Pièces relatives à la Conquête du Mexique* by Ternaux-Compans, the *Extrait de l'Histoire de Philippe II., Roi d'Espagne*, p. 432.

It is rather surprising, therefore, to find, in authors of the eighteenth century, not only detailed references to the problematic journey of 1538, but many details not revealed by writers of the sixteenth, and, lastly, the *names* of the two monks who made the journey. I have not been able to ascertain the sources whence the writers of the past century drew their knowledge, and absolute reliance cannot as yet be placed on what they say, considering the time that elapsed between the occurrence and the date of their writings, and the possibility of their confounding the accounts of the trip of Fray Marcos with some of the earliest reports already quoted. Nevertheless, the likelihood of an exploration preceding that of Fray Marcos is increased by what these writers of the past century state.

The earliest of these writers is the Captain Mateo Mange, a Spaniard, nephew of the Governor of New Mexico (and afterwards of the province of Sonora), Domingo Jironza Petríz de Cruzate. Mange resided in Sonora as an officer of the Spanish forces for a long time, and he wrote a book entitled (in brief) "*Luz de Tierra Incognita*,"¹ which as yet remains unpublished. The date of this document is 1720. In it he says:—

"As in those times, primitive as they were, all was holy ardor and fervor to attract heathens to the knowledge of God and of his faith, the spirit was not content with work-

¹ The full title of this book, two manuscript copies of which are at the city of Mexico,—one in the National Library, and the other in possession of Sr. José Maria Agreda,—is, *Luz de Tierra Incognita, en la America Septentrional o Indias Orientales de la Nueva España, sacada de muchas Relaciones impresas i Manuscriptas sepultadas estas en el Tumulo del Oluido que nos dexaron los primitivos Descubridores, etc., dispuesto por el Capitan Juan Matheo Mange, Natiuo del Reyno de Aragon.* That Mange was a relative of Don Domingo Gironza, is stated, among others, by Father Francisco Xavier Alegre, *Historia de la Compañia de Jesus en Nueva España*, 1842, (published in that year by Bustamante, with a supplement,) vol. iii. p. 84: "Ni de su sobrino el Capitan D. Juan Mateo Mange."

ing within the boundaries of what had been discovered, but, overstepping the limits of what was deemed possible, they braved the obstacles which Northern America offered. He who was most ardent in this field was Fray Marcos of Nizza, of the Seraphic Order, who begged permission of his Provincial, Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, and, as he did not obtain it for himself, secured license for another one to go in his place, — another friar, — while he would remain to administer the missions of New Galicia, and in time be called to Chapter, and other matters and urgent affairs of the Order. For these reasons, and with the authorization of the Royal Audiencia of Compostela, he despatched, in 1538, Fray Juan de la Asumpcion and a lay brother, together with some Indians of various nations and languages to serve as interpreters, in case gentile Indians should be met with, whose idioms they would know, in order to speak to them and to instruct them in the faith.

“So they left for the north and northwest, following the coast of the South Sea. There joined them eight Spaniards, who went in search of mines. Passing through Jalisco and Culiacan, countries which at that time were already discovered, they reached the province of Sinaloa, where they met two roads, wide and plain. They selected the one to the right, but after two days’ march fell in with such impassable mountains and thickets that they were obliged to turn back, taking the road to the left that they had forsaken. Having travelled on it, to the north and northwest, for three days, the lay brother was taken sick, and his superior sent him back in charge of the miners, who also were returning, not having found the mines which, from report, they were hoping to find.

“The priest continued his journey to the northwest with the Indians of his escort. They discovered many creeks and

rivers, rich valleys and groves and forests, fields of maize, cotton, beans, and squashes, and thousands of pagan Indians, who, although the interpreters did not understand their speech, still came out to receive the father with crosses in their hands. They wondered at his dress and at his modesty, and it is possible that they may have taken their notions of behavior from the time when Cabeza de Vaca and his companions passed through those countries. On his peregrination, the friar was escorted daily by one hundred or two hundred of those heathens, who went through the woods, thickets, and mountains to hunt hares, rabbits, and deer, quails, and other game, offering that game to the father that he might select from it what pleased him best for him and his companions. The rest they divided among themselves.

“In this manner the friar travelled about six hundred leagues from Mexico towards the northwest, and arrived at a large and unfathomable river, so deep that it impeded his progress. There he inquired through signs, and was informed that, after crossing the river, ten days beyond to the north there was another greater one, whose banks were settled by many people, the numbers of which they compared to handfuls of sand, with houses of three stories or floors, with enclosures around the villages, and dressed and shod with buckskin and mantles of cotton; but that they did not go thither, as the people were their enemies and at war with them. Only one Indian, a relative of theirs, whom they described and pointed out, had been a captive there, and had fled, travelling the ten days’ journey at night, to avoid being detected and recaptured. He [the friar] gave to the natives of that river, which he did not dare to cross, knives, beads, and ribbons, of the few that he had been able to carry, and found among these Indians much docility and kindness. They are well built, strong-limbed, and clear-skinned, decorated with

iridescent shells and strings of red beads resembling coral, or almost similar to it. They were painted black, blue, and red, and the paint which they used seemed to be some metal. Little maize was found, and some of it white, a proof of their indolence. They are settled on the banks of that river, which is in 34° north latitude. Several villages of these nations are composed of houses of sod, low, with many families living in one, owing to its width. From there he returned by the same road, and arrived at Compostela nine months after his departure. Thence he went to Mexico," etc.¹

This relation differs from those by Motolinia and Mendieta on so many points, that, unless we suppose it to be a mere compilation from the reports of Fray Marcos and those of Oñate on the Colorado of the West,² or of Alarcon and Melchior Diaz,³ we must admit that it is a valuable docu-

¹ The text is the whole of chapter viii. (pp. 165 *et seq.*) of the manuscript of the National Library of Mexico. I refrain from copying it, owing to its length, and merely remark that the latitude of thirty-four degrees given by Mange would correspond to latitude $32^{\circ} 30'$. The observations of two and three centuries ago err, as there is abundant proof, by one and a half degrees on an average. Subtracting this constant error from the determinations of those times, a fairly accurate approximation is reached. Latitude $32^{\circ} 30'$ N. corresponds indeed to the Gila River, or the Lower Colorado of the West.

² The similarity with what Oñate reported touching the natives on the Lower Colorado is very striking. Mange says (p. 167): "Son Yndios membrudos, bien agestados y blancos adornados de conchas de nacar y sartas de quantas Coloradas parezidas al coral o cassi semejantes." Compare the report on Oñate's journey in Zarate-Salmeron, *Relaciones de Todas las Cosas*, paragraph 56.

³ Fernando Alarcon, *Relation de la Navigation et de la Découverte* (in Appendix to *Cibola*, No. IV.). The statement of Mange (p. 168), "Varios pueblos destas naciones con casas de terrado bajas viviendo muchas familias en una por ser anchas," recalls Castañeda de Najera, *Relation du Voyage de Cibola*, p. 49. Speaking of the journey of Melchior Diaz in 1540, and on which that officer reached the Lower Colorado, the chronicler of Coronado's expedition says: "Après avoir fait environ cent cinquante lieues, il arriva dans une province dont les habitants, d'une taille prodigieuse, sont nus, et habitent de grandes cabanes de paille construites sous terre. On ne voyait que le toit de paille que s'élevait au-dessus du sol: l'entrée était d'un côté et la sortie de

ment. The name of the priest, to wit, Fray Juan de la Asumpcion, can hardly have been invented. Still, I find no Franciscan of that name on the lists or in the biographical sketches of the sixteenth century. Fray Antonio de la Asuncion accompanied Sebastian Vizcayno on his voyage of discovery to Cape Mendocino in 1602; and it might be possible that Mange had been deceived, and taken the name of that monk and part of his descriptions of the coast of California for those of an earlier journey by land. Still, this is unlikely. The whole looks genuine; it agrees fairly well with the older reports, and yet is sufficiently distinct from those of Fray Marcos to suggest that it refers to independent facts and occurrences. But the author fails to give his sources, and this we can but deeply regret.

The next author who treats of the matter in question is one of high standing, and had exceptionally good opportunities in regard to the earliest attempts towards the north of Mexico, having had access, at the city of Guadalajara, to the papers of the Captain Don Pedro de Tobar, one of Coronado's officers. This author is Matias de la Mota-Padilla, whose "Historia de Nueva Galicia" was written in 1742. The version of Mota-Padilla differs again from all the others, in that it gives the name of the priest as Fray Juan de Olmeda: "This information was given by one of the ecclesiastics, called Fray Juan de Olmeda, to Father Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, who sent it, through him, to the Venerable F. Fray Marcos of Nizza, Commissary General, who was of such a fiery spirit that he set out on foot and without shoes on the journey, taking the said Father Olmeda along with him. And having reconnoitred the provinces of Marata, Acus, and Totonteac, and obtained information con-

l'autre. Plus de cent personnes, jeunes ou vieilles, couchaient dans chaque cabane." Also in *Relacion del Suceso de la Jornada que Francisco Vazquez hizo en el Descubrimiento de Cibola*, 1541 (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. xiv. p. 321).

cerning the province of Tzibola, he found it advisable to return to Mexico to give a detailed account to the Viceroy.”¹

Fray Marcos was Vice Commissary General in 1538.² His companion on the journey was not Fray Olmeda, but a Savoyard lay brother called Fra Honorato.³ I cannot find as yet any trace of that Fray Olmeda in the sources at my disposal, as little as of Fray de la Asuncion, and yet neither of these names can have been invented by those who mention them.

Still more attention is due to the testimony of Father Francisco Garcés, of the College of the Propaganda Fide of Querétaro, who in the years 1775 and 1776 performed the remarkable journey from Southern Arizona to the Moquis alone. In this report he states:—

¹ *Historia de la Conquista de la Provincia de la Nueva Galicia*, published in 1870 (cap. xxii. p. 111): “Estos religiosos fuéron por la costa del mar del sur, y dieron la vuelta hacia el Norte; y habiendose inclinado á la mano izquierda, á mas de doscientas leguas, les salieron á recibir muchos indios, de los que tuvieron noticia que mas adentro estaba poblada la tierra de gente vestida, y que tenían casas de muchos altos, y que había otras naciones á las riberas de un caudaloso rio, y que había vacas y otros animales. Esta noticia dió uno de los religiosos, llamado Fr. Juan de Olmeda, al P. Fr. Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, quien con el mismo le remitió al V. P. Fr. Marcos de Niza, comisario general, quien era de tanto espiritu, que á pié y descalzo se puso en camino para la jornada, llevando consigo á dicho P. Olmeda; y habiendo reconocido las provincias de Marata, Acux y Tonteaca, y teniendo noticia de la provincia de Tzibola, tuvo por conveniente volverse á México, y dió por extenso noticia al virrey.” The papers written by Don Pedro de Tobar are mentioned on p. 168. They were at Culiacan.

² Fray Marcos signs his *Relacion* of 1539, Vice-commissarius (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. iii. p. 350). The Commissary at the time was Fray Juan de Granada. Vetancurt, *Menologio*, p. 461.

³ Fray Marcos de Niza, *Relacion*, p. 330. Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, *Certificacion*, p. 329. That Honorato was a Savoyard results from the report of the Licenciado de la Marcha, in Ternaux-Compans, *Recueil de Documents et Mémoires originaux sur l'Histoire des Possessions Espagnoles dans l'Amérique*, 1840, *Rapport adressé à l'Empereur Charles V., sur le Royaume de la Nouvelle Galice*, February 18, 1551, p. 192. Speaking of a “Frère Norato,” he says: “Ce frère, de nation Savoyarde, est attaché au couvent de Xalisco.” Norato is evidently but an abbreviation of Honorato.

Juan de la Asuncion himself, or at least by Fray Marcos of Nizza in his name. It is not at all likely that all this could be invention or fabrication; it is even improbable that an original confusion with the report of Fray Marcos could be perpetuated so long. The College at Querétaro contained a great many ancient papers touching upon Franciscan missions, which papers have now disappeared, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that among them there was a report of either Fray Marcos or of the other.

Lastly, there is another mention, emanating directly from the College of Querétaro, and by one of the historians of that institution, Fray Juan Domingo Arricivita. In the Prologue to his "*Crónica Seráfica y Apostólica*," (1792,) we find: —

"In the year five hundred and thirty-eight, in January, by order of the Viceroy, there started from Mexico the Fathers Fray Juan de la Asuncion and Fray Pedro Nadal, who, travelling about six hundred leagues to the northwest, reached a deep river which they were not able to cross; and Father Nadal, who was versed in mathematics, observed the altitude of the pole at thirty-five degrees. In the year following, thirty-nine, Fray Marcos of Nizza came with three other priests and with the military expedition, who, travelling northward, reached the said river, which they called 'of the Rafts,' and it is the one that to-day they call Colorado, and, taking the altitude, it was found to be in thirty-four degrees and one half," etc.¹

either the other report of that friar mentioned by him as having been written, or else a report of Fray Juan de la Asuncion, or one written by Father Marcos in the former's name and behalf. I regard the testimony of Father Garcés as almost conclusive on this point.

¹ *Crónica Seráfica y Apostólica del Colegio de Propaganda Fide de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro* (Prólogo): "El año de quinientos treinta y ocho por Enero salieron de México, por orden del Señor Virrey, los Padres Fr. Juan de la Asuncion, y Fr. Pedro Nadal; y caminando al norueste como seiscientas leguas, llegaron á un río muy caudaloso que no pudieron pasar; y el Padre Nadal, que

The River of the Rafts (Rio de las Balsas) was not the Colorado, but the Gila, as will be shown in a subsequent monograph.

I omit here the allusion to the trip of the two friars named made by Lieutenant-Colonel José Cortés, and by other still more modern authors. They are but copies of one or the other of the preceding statements, add nothing to them, and have no weight for the principal question, — whether or not the journey of 1538 was performed, and by whom.

I frankly confess, that, while all the evidence presented above does not come up to the requirements of historical certainty, and while I should not be surprised nor disappointed if subsequently proof were furnished that the story originated through a confusion with the reports of Fray Marcos, the present condition of the case leads me to believe, that the journey was really made, that Fray Juan de la Asuncion was the man who performed it, and that he reached as far north as the Lower Gila, and perhaps the lower course of the Colorado of the West; and that consequently there was a discovery of Southern Arizona one year previous to that of New Mexico by Fray Marcos of Nizza.

The principal objection lies in the fact that the Viceroy makes no mention of the journey in his letter quoted by me. But we must not lose sight of the fact that he mentions other communications to the Emperor, the text of which I have not,

era muy inteligente en las Matemáticas, observó la altura del Pólo en treinta y cinco grados. El siguiente año de treinta y nueve entró con otros tres Religiosos el Padre Fr. Marcos de Niza en la expedicion militar; y caminando al Norte, llegaron al dicho Rio, que llamaron de las Balsas, y es él que hoy llaman Colorado, y tomada la altura se halló en treinta y quatro grados y medio, confirmando la identidad del Rio, el haber tratado los Padres con la nacion Jalchedon, que en él hallaron." "Thirty-five degrees" are equal to thirty-three and a half, and "thirty-four and a half" to thirty-three. Either agrees tolerably well with the average course of the Gila and of the Lower Colorado.

and in which he says that he had sent "two members of the order of Saint Francis to discover the cape of the mainland that runs in the direction of the north." This passage may refer to Fray Marcos and his companion, but it may also allude to two other monks. Furthermore, if we compare the statement of Arricivita, that the monks left Mexico in January, 1538, and the statement of Mange, that the trip lasted nine months, with the time of departure of Fray Marcos on his journey to the north, we notice that the latter left only after the two monks are supposed to have returned. At the end of November, 1538, Fray Marcos was already in New Galicia, and the others are supposed to have returned in October.¹

There are additional and rather vague indications, which, however, I cannot absolutely overlook here. Thus an Augustine monk, Fray Gerónimo Ximénez de San Estéban, wrote to Saint Thomas of Villanueva on the 9th of October, 1539: "In September of last year there left this city a friar of Saint Francis, a Frenchman by birth, in search of a country *of which the rulers of these parts have had information, and which they have not been able to discover.*"² The Italics are my own. This may relate to the reports of Cabeza de Vaca, but also to some exploration subsequent to the return of the latter, and prior to the departure of Fray Marcos.

¹ Fray Marcos acknowledged reception of the instructions of the Viceroy: "En Tonalá, á veinte dias del mes de Noviembre, de mil y quinientas e treinta y ocho años." *Certificaciones* (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. iii. p. 328). Mange, in *Luz de Tierra Incognita*, p. 168: "Desde aquí dió la buelta por el camino que lleuó y llegó á compostela á los nueve meses. Y desde allí pasó á México."

² *Carta de Fray Jerónimo Ximénez de San Estéban á Santo Tomás de Villanueva* (in *Nueva Colección de Documentos para la Historia de México*, by Sr. G. Ycazbalceta, 1886, p. 194): "Este pasado mes de Setiembre hizo un año que partió un fraile de S. Francisco, francés de nacion, desta ciudad de México en busca de una tierra de que los gobernadores destas partes han tenido noticia, y no la han podido descubrir." He plainly means Fray Marcos.

Humboldt mentions Fray Pedro Nadal as one of the explorers of the country near the Gulf of California in the sixteenth century ; but the great student of Spanish America evidently relied upon Arricivita alone for his statement.¹

Assuming the journey attributed to Fray Juan de la Asuncion to have taken place, it is easy to see that it did not extend beyond Southern Arizona, probably not beyond the Gila. Possibly the friar may have seen the Lower Colorado, as the size of the great river on whose banks he stopped would indicate. The identification, however, of the Rio de las Balsas with that stream would denote that it was the Gila. The Gila is one of those typical Southwestern rivers that grow smaller in proportion as they approach the mouth, unless sudden rises occur. The latter take place in spring and the beginning of summer, and that would have been the time when Fray Juan reached its banks. The large houses inhabited by a number of families would better agree with some of the tribes of the Lower Colorado. At all events, whether it be the Gila or the Colorado, the explorer did not go far beyond the parallel of thirty-three, and he followed as near as possible the coast of the Gulf of California. If there had been a journey of discovery prior to that of Fray Marcos of Nizza, it took a somewhat different route, and never penetrated farther north than the southern half of Arizona Territory.

Admitting the trip of Fray Juan de la Asuncion to be authentic, it would indicate, for the period of two years following upon Cabeza de Vaca's return, three distinct attempts on the part of Don Antonio de Mendoza to explore the countries north of Sinaloa: —

The first, probably in 1537, by Dorantes, which was never carried out.

¹ *Essai Politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne*, edition of 1825, vol. i. p. 73.

The second, by Fray Juan de la Asuncion, in 1538.

In the same year, an attempt to enter the region of Topia, in Northwestern Durango, which attempt proved a failure.¹

The beginnings of the journey of Fray Marcos properly belong to the same year ; still I do not include them, as the trip was actually made in the year following.

In all these attempts, the Viceroy proceeded with great circumspection. Aware of the delicate position in which he was placed, he risked but little until the impressions conveyed by Cabeza de Vaca's reports should be sufficiently confirmed. The only considerable outlay was the fitting out of the expedition under command of Dorantes ; and as this had failed, he left it to monks to continue the work of reconnoitring. It was the cheapest, and beyond all doubt the best means within his reach. The enthusiastic missionary of the times required but a modest outfit, and he, with a little tact, commanded the confidence, as well as the respect, of natives prone to shrink from the man at arms, or to oppose his approach. Mendoza was shrewder than Cortés. The latter, loath to disbelieve in his own star, squandered means and energies in fruitless attempts at securing a foothold on the coast of Lower California. His expeditions of 1535 and 1536 were disastrous, both in a monetary point of view and in regard to his prestige.² In 1538 there was a semblance of reconciliation between him and Mendoza, but it proved not to be sincere, and the conqueror of Mexico was obliged to appeal to the court for assistance in his endeavors to

¹ The "Topira" of Mendoza's letter is manifestly "Topia." The mines of Topia, very celebrated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are situated in Eastern Durango, in the Sierra Madre. The Indians of that region were the Acaxeas.

² Both expeditions virtually failed. The first was commanded by Cortés in person, the other by Ulloa, and both only reached Lower California.

reach and to occupy California.¹ In his bitter disappointment, he claimed for himself the merit of discoveries that were, as we shall soon see, due to Fray Marcos of Nizza. Mendoza could feel more and more at ease; Cortés was no longer a source of danger either to him or to the Crown. On the other hand, Alvarado openly ranged himself beneath Mendoza's banner, and in 1538 anchored the vessels he had constructed on the coast of Jalisco, holding them in readiness for an undertaking in which the Viceroy and he were to share.² Still Mendoza would not risk anything, and, ere he took a decisive step, thought it best to have the northern country once more explored in an unostentatious but reliable manner. For this purpose Fray Marcos of Nizza was selected. Whether or not Fray Juan de la Asuncion had preceded him, it is certain that the Savoyard monk was intrusted with the more important mission, and that the results of that mission were in proportion to its importance.

¹ *Carta de Hernan Cortes, al Consejo de Indias, Pidiendo ayuda para Continuar sus Armadas, y Recompensas, para sus Servicios, etc.*, September 20, 1538 (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. iii. p. 535 et seq.).

² The definitive agreement was made in 1540. *Asiento y Capitulacion de Compañia que celebraron Don Antonio de Mendoza Virrey de Nueva España; y el Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado, sobre el Descubrimiento que este Ofreció hacer en el Mar del Sur, etc.*, November 29, 1540 (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. xvi. p. 342 et seq.).

IV.

FRAY MARCOS OF NIZZA.

FOR more than three centuries the character of the man whose name stands at the head of this monograph has been strangely misrepresented, his actions mistold, his words misconstrued. The result of it has been, that almost everything connected with the early history of discoveries in the North American Southwest has been correspondingly misunderstood. It is my purpose to follow the path which for the first time, in 1881, Mr. F. H. Cushing opened, when he sought and found among the Indians of Zuñi the truth about Fray Marcos's remarkable journey,¹—a path which, upon the basis of documentary research, I trod afterwards in 1885 and 1886,²—and to present the tale of the first trip undertaken to Cibola as accurately as possible, with the aid of written and oral evidence, of printed books and manuscripts, as well as of geographical and ethnological facts. I do not wish to be understood as presenting myself as the champion of Fray Marcos. Wherein he has erred, where, and when, I shall be careful to state; but, aside from the fact that it is certainly gratifying to be able to replace a much defamed character in its proper light, it is a duty to science and history to re-establish what is true, and to explain what has for

¹ In several publications in periodicals of which I have no copies at hand.

² First in German, in the "New York Statszeitung," Sunday issue, an article headed *Cibola*; then in French, in the "Revue d'Ethnographie," under the title of *La Découverte du Nouveau Mexique, par le moine Franciscain Fray Marcôs de Nice*; lastly, in English, in the "Magazine of Western History," *The Discovery of New Mexico by Fray Marcos of Nizza*.

a long time puzzled honest students, as well as intelligent readers.

Fray Marcos was, according to the political configuration of Southern Europe in his day, a Savoyard. Nizza then belonged to the Duchy of Savoy. He is mostly designated by clerical contemporaries as a Frenchman.¹ He was manifestly a shrewd and very able man, of no ordinary attainments for the period in which he lived, and wholly devoted to duty. The great principle of his Order (and of the Catholic Church in general), obedience, ruled all his actions. He obeyed implicitly the Viceroy, as well as the Superiors of his own brotherhood.

Having taken part in the memorable journey which culminated in the conquest of Peru by Francisco Pizarro,² he was well adapted for a tour of exploration, from the standpoint of personal experience and of practical knowledge of the nature of Indians. Nevertheless, his acquaintance with the natives of Peru and Quito exposed him to misleading conclusions, of which I shall have occasion to speak. After his arrival at Mexico, he was sent to the Northern Provinces.³ When Cabeza de Vaca suddenly appeared in Sinaloa, Fray Marcos had already had some "frontier" experience in the country. He knew Indians of Jalisco, and probably of Sinaloa; he was acclimatized, and in a measure familiar with the ways of the aborigines.

His standing in the Order appears to have been high. The position of Vice-Commissary was occupied by him in 1539,

¹ Fray Jeronimo Ximenez de San Esteban, *Carta á Santo Tomas de Villanueva*, October 9, 1539 (*Nueva Coleccion de Documentos*, p. 194): "Este pasado mes de Setiembre hizo un año que partió un fraile de S. Francisco, Francés de nacion." Secular writers also have called him a Frenchman.

² This is well known: he was present at Caxamarca, and at the death of Atahualpa. Vetancurt, *Menologio*, p. 118.

³ Mange, *Luz de Tierra Incognita*, MS., cap. viii. p. 165. Don Antonio de Mendoza, *Première Lettre à l'Empereur Charles V.*, *Cibola*, p. 288.

and he was elected Provincial in the following year.¹ I have already recorded the flattering testimony which his predecessor, Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, gave him. That such a man could have been a common impostor, as Cortés would make us believe, is hardly probable. We must remember that the Order of Saint Francis was at the time, and in Mexico, in the period of its greatest moral and intellectual growth. Men like Motolinia, Sahagun, Mendieta, and many others, could not easily be imposed upon by one of their own fraternity. The Archbishop of Mexico, Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga, would soon have punished Fray Marcos had the latter combined with his manifest ability unreliability and deceit. Neither would inordinate ambition have been tolerated at a time when humility was regarded as the chief ornament of a clerical subject.² Fray Marcos must have been not only capable, but above all considered as thoroughly reliable.

In appealing to the religious zeal of the Franciscans, the Viceroy acted very judiciously. He knew that it would have jeopardized his own position had he engaged the credit of the Crown in any doubtful enterprise. By securing monks as explorers or scouts, he saved a great deal of expense, and accomplished more. The friars were bound to report the truth. No worldly interest was to bias their judgment, and they travelled very economically. Accustomed to receive charity, they knew also how to do charity to such as were poorer than they. A double end could be attained: first, an inexpensive and yet profitable journey; secondly, an impression could be made upon the feelings of unknown and therefore doubtful tribes, through the meekness and plia-

¹ That he was Vice-Commissary, I have already stated. His election as Provincial is a fact so well known as to require no proof.

² All the decrees, letters, and clerical documents of the period establish this as a rule of the Order.

bility of the emissary. That Fray Marcos should have been selected for such a task certainly speaks in his favor.

If, as the sources referred to in the preceding section would lead us to suppose, Fray Juan de la Asuncion really performed the journey to the Gila River, returning to Mexico in October, Fray Marcos had received instructions to follow in his tracks before the former's return.¹ These instructions bear no date, but they were certainly written previous to December, 1538.² They are so remarkable that I cannot refrain from giving their translation. The Viceroy says:—

“First, as soon as you reach the province of Culiacan, you will exhort and encourage the Spaniards residing in the town of San Miguel to treat well those Indians who are at peace, and not to require their services for excessive labor. You will state to them, that, if they comply with this, his Majesty will reward them for it, as well as for the sufferings which they have already had to undergo, and that in me they will find assistance to that effect; but that if they act to the contrary, they will be in disfavor and severely punished.

“You will explain to the Indians that I sent you in the name of his Majesty to tell [the Spaniards] to treat them well, and that they may know the sorrow caused by the information received of the sufferings to which they have been exposed, and that henceforward they shall be well treated, and those who may do them harm will be chastised.

“You will also certify that they shall not any longer be

¹ From the letter of Fray Jeronimo de San Estevan, *Carta á Santo Tomas de Villanueva*, it would appear that he left in September, 1538. Fray Juan de la Asuncion returned in October.

² Fray Marcos received them at Tonalá, in New Galicia, on the 20th of November, (old style,) 1538, therefore on the 1st of December. *Certificaciones, Doc. de Indias*, vol. iii. p. 328. I shall always refer hereafter to this volume of the collection whenever I quote from the report of Fray Marcos or accompanying documents, and it is therefore unnecessary to mention it.

made slaves, nor taken out of the country, but, on the contrary, will be left in it, free, without any harm or evil being done to them. That therefore they shall lose all fear, and begin to know God our Lord, who is in heaven, and the Emperor, whom He has placed upon the earth with His own hand to rule and to govern it.

“And since Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, whom his Majesty hath provided for Governor of that province, goes with you to the town of San Miguel de Culiacan, you have to inform me of how he provides for the affairs of that town in what relates to the service of God our Lord, and the conversion and good treatment of the natives of the province.

“And if, through the favor of God our Lord and the grace of the Holy Ghost, you should find a road on which to proceed onward and penetrate farther inland, you shall take along with you Esteban of Dorantes as a guide; and I command him to obey you in all and everything you order him to do, as if you were my own self; and in case of disobedience he will be severely punished, according to the penalties imposed upon those who disobey persons holding from his Majesty power to command them.

“The aforesaid Governor, Francisco Vazquez, takes with him the Indians who came with Dorantes, and others whom it has been possible to collect from those parts, in order that, should he and you deem it advisable, you may have some of them accompany you. This you may do, making use of them in such a manner as you may deem best suited to the service of our Lord.

“You will always proceed as safely as possible, and inform yourself first if they [the Indians] are at peace or at war with each other, in order not to give them any cause for doing you harm, lest it might become necessary to proceed against them and chastise them. It would then result, that, in place of

doing them good and bringing them enlightenment, the contrary would take place.

“You will be careful to note the kind of people, if they are numerous or not, and if they are dispersed or live together; the quality and fertility of the land, its climate, the trees and plants, domestic or savage animals, the aspect of the country, whether rugged or level, the streams, if large or small, and the rocks and metals. And of whatever objects it may be possible to bring or send samples, bring or send them, in order that his Majesty be informed of everything.

“Inform yourself always if there is any knowledge of the sea-coast,—of that of the north as well as that of the south; for it might be that the continent would grow narrower, and some arm of the sea would enter inland. And if you should reach the coast of the South Sea, you will bury, at the foot of some strikingly tall tree on the beach of a bay, letters in which you give information of what may seem to you proper; and such trees you shall mark with a cross, in order that they be recognized. The same thing you will do at the mouths of rivers, and on the shores of what may be proper for seaports, at remarkable trees near the water, making the same mark of the cross and leaving letters; for in case I should despatch vessels, they will be directed to look for such signs.

“Always endeavor to send, through Indians, advice of how you fare and how you are received, and with particular care of what you find.

“And if God our Lord should grant that you find some large settlement where it might appear to you to be desirable to erect a monastery, and to send thither ecclesiastics fitted for the work of conversion, you will send word thereof by Indians, or return to Culiacan yourself. Send the message with due secrecy, in order that everything be prepared without commotion, and that, in the pacification of what may be

discovered, the service of our Lord and the good of the people of the country be properly secured.

“And although the whole earth belongs to the Emperor, our master, you will, in my name, take possession of it for his Majesty, making the marks and performing the acts that may appear to you requisite for the occasion; and to the natives you will give to understand that there is a God in heaven, and the Emperor upon this earth to rule and to command them, to whom all have to be subject and serve him.

“D. ANTONIO DE MENDOZA.”¹

Aside from the great wisdom of which this document gives proof, there are several points contained in it that deserve attention, as they exercised great influence upon the actions of Fray Marcos and the results of his trip.

In the first place, there is the strict order to travel with the greatest possible security. This meant that the monk should not expose his life whenever it could possibly be avoided.

Next, there are the directions upon the manner in which he should investigate the countries traversed by him, and how he should report upon his progress and discoveries,—even sending or taking along specimens of the products of the land. These instructions are worthy of expeditions of the present day made for purely scientific purposes.

Last, though not least, they convey the information that Fray Marcos was supplied with a guide, and that that guide was none other but the negro Estévan, the former companion

¹ The original of these instructions is in the volume above quoted, page 325, *Instruccion de Don Antonio de Mendoza, Visorey de Nueva España*. I have translated it as literally as possible. The French version of Ternaux-Compans, contained in the Appendix to *Cibola*, I have avoided, since it is a retranslation of the Italian version in Ramusio, *Terzo Volume delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*. Ternaux-Compans varies occasionally from the original text. Probably the variations are due to the Italian that served for his translation.

of Cabeza de Vaca. He is called here "Esteban of Dorantes," for the reason that he had remained with Dorantes after the departure of Cabeza de Vaca and Castillo Maldonado. We have seen in the preceding monograph that the Viceroy speaks of Estevan as almost the only member remaining of the expedition which the chief magistrate of New Spain had organized in 1537.¹

But Fray Marcos had still another companion. A countryman of his, a Savoyard lay brother, Fra Honorato, was to go with him. So says Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, in his certificate of August 26, 1539;² and, as we shall see further on, Fray Marcos himself corroborates the statement in his report.³ Of Fra Honorato I know as yet nothing, except that he was a Savoyard,⁴ that he accompanied his Superior for a short distance, and that in 1551 he was still alive, being attached to the convent of Jalisco.⁵

It was on the seventh day of March of the year 1539 (old style) that Fray Marcos left Culiacan with his guide, the lay brother, and a few of the Indians of whom the Viceroy speaks

¹ *Première Lettre*: "De tous les préparatifs que j'avais faits, il ne me resta qu'un nègre qui est venu avec Dorantes."

² *Certificaciones*: "Fué con otro compañero, fraile lego, que se llama Fra Onorato, por mandado del Señor Don Antonio de Mendoza, Visorey," etc.

³ *Descubrimiento de las Siete Ciudades, Relacion*, p. 330.

⁴ That Fra Honorato was a Savoyard rests on rather frail testimony. Still I am convinced that he was from that country. The Provincial Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, who was a Spaniard, would not have used the particularly Italian term "Fra" had the subject not been an Italian monk. Furthermore, there is a mention of a "Frère Norato," who, as I believe, was the same one who accompanied Fray Marcos. The Licentiate de la Marcha says in his *Rapport sur le Royaume de la Nouvelle Galice, 1551 (Recueil de Documents et Mémoires Originaux sur l'Histoire des Possessions Espagnoles dans l'Amérique*, by M. Ternaux-Compans, 1840): "Ce frère de nation Savoyarde." I leave the point undecided so far, but believe that Fra Honorato was the same as the Fra Norato of a later date.

⁵ For these details I refer to the report of the Licentiate de la Marcha, just quoted above.

in his instructions as having come with Cabeza de Vaca.¹ Herrera says of these Indians: "Francisco Vazquez, when once the country was at peace, and the affairs of the town of San Miguel arranged, sent to the villages of Petatlan and of the Cuchillo, sixty leagues beyond San Miguel, six Indians of that country, slaves whom the Viceroy had given to Fray Marcos to keep him company. They had been kept at Mexico to become proficient in the Spanish language, and attached to the ways of the Christians."² The mission of these Indians had been entirely successful. They fully reassured the people on the Rio de Petatlan, and a number of the latter returned with them to see the Governor and Fray Marcos, and express their joy at the restoration of peace and security. When the monks departed, these Indians also joined their company.³ Thus escorted, Fray Marcos found, as far as Petatlan at least, the very best reception. Everywhere the natives treated him with the utmost kindness, providing him with food and building shelters for the night in desert places. At Petatlan, however, he met with the first disappointment.

¹ See *Instrucciones* and *Relacion*.

² *Historia General*, Decada VI. lib. vii. cap. vii. p. 155. Fray Marcos de Nizza, *Relacion*, p. 330: "Y ciertos Indios, de los quel dicho Sr. Visorey libertó y compró para este efecto."

³ Mendoza, *Première Lettre*, p. 288: "Dix jours après, ces Indiens revinrent au nombre d'environ quatre-cents; ils se présentèrent au gouverneur, et lui dirent qu'ils venaient de la part de tous les habitants pour voir et connaître ceux qui leur faisaient tant de bien, les laissaient retourner chez eux, semer du maïs; car il y avait bien longtemps qu'ils fuyaient dans les montagnes, se cachaient comme des bêtes sauvages dans la crainte qu'on ne les fit esclaves. Ils ajoutèrent, qu'eux et tous leurs compatriotes étaient prêts à obéir aux ordres qu'on leur donnerait." The same document says, however, that these Indians were sent back previous to the departure of Fray Marcos. But he asserts (*Relacion*, p. 330): "Y con otra mucha cantidad de indios de Petatlan, que serian cinquenta leguas de la dicha villa. Los cuales vinieron al valle de Culiacan, significando gran alegria, por habelles certificado los indios libertados, quel Gobernador envió delante á hacelles saber su libertad y que no se habian de hacer esclavos dellos ni hacelles guerra ni mal tratamiento."

His companion, Honorato, fell sick, and he had to leave him there and continue his way alone.¹ He remarks in his report: "And in compliance with the said instruction, I continued my journey whither the Holy Ghost directed me, although I did not deserve it."²

It is well to state here, that among the materials at my command for this monograph, there is but a single report of Fray Marcos, whereas it appears that he wrote two; for in this report he says, speaking of the islands of the Gulf of California, "The names of which I put down in another paper, where I give the names of the islands and settlements."³ That "paper" has not yet reappeared, and I must confine myself to the report which for a long time has been known only through its translation into Italian by Ramusio, and through the French translation by M. Ternaux-Compans.⁴ Subsequently the Spanish government caused the Spanish original to be published,⁵ and I prefer to use it rather than to follow the French version. Ternaux-Compans is very severe in his comments on Fray Marcos;⁶ but when we compare his translation with the Spanish original, we cannot refrain from wishing him to have been in that translation as exact as Fray Marcos proves to be in his statements.

From Petatlan on, the negro Estevan, and the Indians whom the Viceroy had sent from Mexico, became the only companions of Fray Marcos; or, rather, they constituted his

¹ Fray Marcos, *Relacion*.

² *Ut supra*: "Y conforme á la dicha instruccion, seguí mi viaje por donde me guió el Espiritu Santo, sin merescello yo."

³ *Ut supra*, p. 334: "Cuyos nombres pongo en otro papel, donde asiento el nombre de las islas y poblaciones."

⁴ This is the version to which I have already alluded.

⁵ Volume III. of the valuable collection of *Documentos de Indias*.

⁶ *Cibola*, Introduction, p. vi.: "J'avoue que la conduite qu'il tint plus tard au Nouveau Mexique ne me fait pas supposer qu'un homme aussi vain et aussi léger ait jamais pu se montrer bon historien."

regular escort. But natives of the villages of Northern Sinaloa attached themselves to the little caravan in numbers, and their presence was very useful, in that they provided food for the travellers, and insured them a friendly reception.¹ The aborigines who had come from the city of Mexico belonged to the stock and tribe of the Sonoran Pimas or Nebomes; consequently they spoke a language affiliated with the Yaqui, the Mayo, and above all with the Opata,² so that these Indians were very useful interpreters. In this manner Fray Marcos could, as far as the Gila River, hold conversations with many of the natives, and was not limited, except in the case of the Yaquis, Mayos, and Seris, to the imperfect medium of signs. Furthermore, the recollections of Cabeza de Vaca and of his useful career among the aborigines were still fresh; and the presence of the negro, whose strange physical appearance could not fail to have greatly impressed the natives, bore witness to the fact that the monk was kindred to the mysterious "medicine-men" who, three years previous, had done the Indians so much good.

The ethnography of Sonora was then very much the same as, generally speaking, it is at this day. The Cahita stock, the Mayos and Yaquis, occupied the banks of the two rivers in Southern Sonora which still bear their names. The Nebomes, or Southern Pimas, dwelt north of them, and towards the mountains. Beyond the Pimas lived the Opatas, in the

¹ *Relacion*, p. 330: "Y con esta compaña que digo, tomé mi camino hasta allegar al pueblo de Petatlan, hallando en el camino muchos rescibimientos y presentes de comida, rosas y otras cosas desta calidad, y casas que me hacian de petates y ramas, en todas las partes donde no habia poblado."

² It is at present a well established fact that the Cahita language (to which the Mayo and the Yaqui belong), the Pima, the Opata, and the Tarahumar, are but branches of one and the same family. Between the Opata and the Pima the difference is comparatively slight. There is much greater difference with the Cahita idioms. But it is not unlikely that the Pimas from Bamoa (as the colony planted in Sinaloa by the followers of Cabeza de Vaca was called) were able also to converse in one of the Cahita dialects.

valley of the Sonora River and in the western approaches, nay, in the very heart, of the Sierra Madre. Intermediate dialects, the Jovas and the Eudeves, ranged around the Opatas almost in a semicircle from west to east, separating them from the Pimas of the South. Uninhabited wastes lay in and between the tribal ranges. The country north of the sources of the Rio Sonora was deserted as far as the upper course of the Arizonian Rio San Pedro. In the valley formed by that stream, a branch of the Northern Pimas, the Sobaypuris, had reared a string of little villages as far north as the vicinity of the Arivaypa torrent. The banks of the Gila east of the narrow cañon of San Carlos were deserted, and a wooded wilderness, traversed by beautiful streams of cool and rushing water, extended north of the Gila for about two weeks' march. It bordered upon the bleak plateau of the little Colorado River, and the valleys and ridges of the Zuñi country. In the east, it abutted against the towering Sierra Blanca; to the west, it lost itself in a maze of forbidding mountains which encase the upper course of Salt River. That wooded table-land was, in the sixteenth century as well as to-day, roamed over by straggling bands of Apache Indians.

In giving here this sketch of the ethnography of the country which Fray Marcos had to traverse, I anticipate in fact the results of his explorations. But I have thought it necessary to prepare the reader for the scene of the monk's travels by mentioning countries and peoples which, as I shall afterwards prove, were those seen and spoken of by the adventurous Franciscan. It may enable the reader to follow with greater ease the narrative of the journey, and to understand the nature of the intercourse which Fray Marcos was enabled to hold with the Indian population.

Little is said in the official report before me of the country forming the confines of Sinaloa and Sonora. Still, we can

gather that the route lay within easy reach of the sea-coast. He says: "On this whole stretch, which may be twenty-five to thirty leagues on the other side of Petetean, I saw nothing worthy of being recorded here, except that there came to me Indians from the island in which the Marques del Valle has been, from which Indians I ascertained that it was really an island, and not, as some pretend, *terra firma*. The distance from this island to the mainland may be one half-league by sea, more or less, and I saw that they crossed over on rafts to the mainland, and from the mainland back to the island. There also came to see me Indians from another isle larger than the first one, and situated farther ahead. I learned from them that there were thirty more islands—small ones—settled, but destitute of food, except two, where they say that they have maize. These Indians wore many conch-shells suspended to their necks, in which there used to be pearls, and when I showed them a pearl which I had taken along, they said that there were some of these on those islands, but I did not see any."¹

I beg to call attention here, for the first time, to the careful manner in which Fray Marcos discriminates between what he has seen and what he has merely been told.

Twenty-five to thirty leagues north, or northwest rather, from the "Rio del Fuerte," as the Petatlan River is called to-day, carried the explorer into the country of the Mayos, and very probably beyond the mouth of the river of that name, as else the Indians from the Gulf of California would not have reached him so easily. The islands referred to were, therefore:—

1. The group of inconsiderable islets strung along the coast of Lower Sonora between the mouths of the Mayo and Yaqui Rivers.

¹ *Relacion*, p. 331: "É yo les mostré una perla que llevaba para muestra, y me dixeron que de aquellas habia en las islas, pero yo no les ví ninguna."

2. The islands of the Seris, of which the "Isla del Tiburon" and "Isla del Angel de la Guardia" are the principal ones.

I cannot determine to what tribe the inhabitants of the first group belonged. I doubt, however, if they were Seris. The latter lived too far to the north.¹ They probably were Mayos, who either dwelt permanently on the smaller islands first mentioned, or visited them frequently for the purpose of fishing. He says also, "And I saw that they crossed over to the mainland on rafts, and from the mainland back to the island." This proves that Fray Marcos was on the coast at, or a short distance north of, the mouth of the Mayo River. It also reveals the ethnological fact, that Indians of Southern Sonora — those of Cahita stock, or islanders who were their near neighbors — were acquainted with coast navigation by means of rafts.²

A desert — that is, uninhabited country — of four days' march separated the point where he met the islanders from the next Indian tribe. These natives were greatly surprised at seeing a white man, as they never had seen any before.³ Here he noticed that the word "Sayota" was

¹ Ribas, *Historia de los Triunphos de Nvestra Santa Fee, etc.*, 1645 (lib. vi. cap. i. p. 358), speaks of the Seris as the "Heris." He mentions their place of abode as near the mouth of the Sonora River: "Y a orillas de vn tan caudaloso rio, como el de Hiaqui, que a la parte del Occidente desemboca en el mar, a quarenta leguas de distancia de llanadas, en que ay noticias de gran gentío de otra Nacion, que llaman Heris." He also mentions the Seris of the islands: "Y dentro del mismo mar, en isla, se dize, que habitan otros de la misma nacion."

² This is, to my knowledge, the earliest mention of this fact. I transcribe the text (*Relacion*, p. 331): "Y ví que della pasaban á la tierra firme en balsas, y de la tierra firme á ella, y el espacio que hay de la isla á la tierra firme, puede ser de media legua de mar, poco mas ó menos."

³ *Relacion*, p. 331: "Hallé otros indios, que se admiraron de me ver, porque ninguna noticia tienen de Christianos, á causa de no contratarse con los de atras por el despoblado." This speaks against the assumption that they were Yaquis. The latter knew of the Spaniards; they had seen them, and even fought them, during the raid of Diego de Guzman in 1533. *Relacion de lo que he Descubierto en la Costa de la Mar del Sur* (in "Proceso del Marques del Valle y Nuño de

frequently used, and he was told that it meant "man from the sky," or "from heaven."¹ My linguistic knowledge is insufficient to determine to what idiom of Sonora this word may belong. At all events, the Pima Indians of the monk's escort were able to interpret, and this shows that the language must have been either their own or that of some tribe with whom they had intercourse, and could therefore make themselves understood. None of the Pima settlements lay anywhere near the shores of the Gulf, unless the Guaymas were of Pima stock, as respectable authority has affirmed.² But in order to reach Guaymas from the Mayo River it was necessary to pass through the Yaqui settlements. These villages could not even be avoided without at least noticing them, as they extended almost to the sea-shore.³ It is therefore presumable that these Indians were the Yaquis, and that he met them near where their present towns of Bélén and Rahum stand.⁴ Here also Fray Marcos was told that four

Guzman," *Doc. de Indias*, vol. xv. p. 333): "Porque este poblado, do fue la refriega, llamase Yaquimi." Fray Antonio Tello, *Historia de la Nueva Galicia*, p. 357.

¹ *Relacion*, p. 331: "Y me llamaban Sayota, que quiere decir en su lengua 'hombre del cielo.'"

² The Guaymas are generally considered as belonging to the Seris, therefore of Yuma stock; but the bitter hostility of the Seris against the Guaymas, which ultimately culminated in the destruction of the latter, would hardly support the assumption.

³ In the sixteenth century, and the first half of the seventeenth, the Yaquis occupied the shores of the river for an extent of twelve leagues, as far as its mouth. Ribas, *Historia de los Triunfos* (p. 284): "En las doze ultimas, a la mar, esta poblada la famosa Nacion de Hiaquis. . . . Quando los Hiaquis en su Gentilidad poblauã este rio, era en forma de rancherias tendidas por sus riberas. Y junto a sus sementaras, y el numero destas rancherias seria de ochenta, en que auia treinta mil almas." There can be no doubt about the fact that the Mayos were the tribe whom he met first at the time when he saw the islanders, and it is not likely that he would have overlooked so powerful and important a cluster as the Yaquis. This is in favor of the supposition that they were the Yaquis and not the Guaymas.

⁴ Both places are near the mouth of the Yaqui. P. Juan Ortiz Zapata, S. J., *Relacion de las Misiones que la Compañia de Jesus tiene en el Reino y Pro-*

or five days' journey inland, near the foot of the mountains, was a broad valley in which were large settlements of people who dressed in cotton. When he exhibited samples which he carried along as means of testing information on minerals and metals, they pointed at gold, and said that the people of that valley had vessels made of that material, and that they wore nose and ear ornaments of the same; also, that they used golden implements to scrape the perspiration from their bodies.¹ Fray Marcos did not visit the said valley then, it being his intention not to leave the coast.

Whether he gathered this information among the Yaquis or among the Guaymas, it is evident that the cluster of villages here spoken of were those of the sedentary Nebomes or Pimas,—an agricultural, pottery-making people, who dressed in cotton and nicely prepared skins, and wore flashy trinkets. They occupied valleys on the Upper Yaqui, and irrigated by means of artificial canals. Their houses were large-sized adobes, and the centre of a village was frequently occupied by a particularly solid and extensive structure, the walls of which were perforated with loopholes. Thither the inhabitants retreated for defence in case of attack.² None of the

vincias de la Nueva Vizcaya en la Nueva España, 1678 (*Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, 4th series, vol. iii. p. 378).

¹ *Relacion*, p. 332: "Y no tube nueva mas de que me dixeron que la tierra adentro, cuatro ó cinco jornadas do se rematan las cordilleras de las sierras, se hace una abra llana y de mucha tierra, en la cual me dixeron haber muchas y muy grandes poblaciones, en que hay gente vestida de algodón. Y mostrándoles yo algunos metales que llevaba, para tomar razon de los metales de la tierra, tomaron el metal de oro y me dixeron que de aquel hay vasijas entre aquella gente de la abra, y que traen colgadas de las narices y orejas ciertas cosas redondas de aquel oro, y que tienen unas paletillas del, con que raen y se quitan el sudor." The little scrapers which are mentioned here were formerly in use also among the New Mexican Pueblos, or at least among some of them; but they were not made of metallic substances. Now they are in disuse, and it would be difficult even to find a specimen.

² Ribas (*Historia*, p. 360) has given a full description of the dwellings, customs, and dress of the Nebomes or Pimas of Sonora.

tribes of Sonora knew the use of metals: they distinguished such material, and discriminated between the different kinds, from external appearances only. The pottery of Sonora is frequently yellow, and sometimes made of a micaceous clay similar to the one used by the New Mexican Indians of the Pueblo of Nambé. Such vessels appear as if covered with gold-dust, and their lustre is easily distinguishable from brass. It was very natural for the coast people of Sonora, who made no pottery themselves, and had no idea of the difference between metallic and earthen substances, to recognize in the color and brilliancy of gold the hues of micaceous pottery. On the other hand, Fray Marcos, who had been in Peru, where gold and silver vessels were manufactured and used by the aborigines, did not find it strange that a tribe of sedentary natives residing in a fertile mountain valley might be acquainted with precious metals. But here again his conscientiousness does not allow him to speak of all this except as from hearsay, and he very wisely and honestly leaves the matter of the authenticity of the reports undecided.

Notwithstanding his intention to remain near the coast, it seems that he began to trend towards the interior. This would indicate that the Indians last seen by him were the Yaquis, and not the Guaymas; for from the mouth of the Yaqui River the coast deflects to the west, whereas his course lay as much as possible to the north. At the end of three days he arrived at a place called Vacapa, an Indian settlement, which was forty leagues distant from the Gulf of California. It is described as being situated in a fertile region, in which the inhabitants raised crops by irrigation, and which was therefore plentifully supplied with food. He arrived there "two days before Passion Sunday," or about the middle of April.¹ The distance by air line from Culiacan to Matape

¹ *Relacion*, p. 332.

is three hundred and thirty miles. By the road which Fray Marcos was compelled to take, he must have travelled nearly five hundred; and being on foot, and with delays and stoppages, it is not possible he could have reached the centre of Sonora in less than a full month. I place some stress on the location of Vacapa, not only because it is an important station on Fray Marcos's route, but because it has been looked for in entirely different quarters, and has thus confused to a great extent notions about the travels of the Franciscan, as well as about the subsequent journey of Coronado. I am convinced that the Vacapa of Fray Marcos was "Matapa" or "Matape," an Indian village in Central Sonora.

There is only one Vacapa known in the annals of the Jesuit missionaries, — to whom, as is well known, the Christianization of the tribes of Sonora is due. St. Ludovic de Vacapa, or San Luis Beltran de Bacapa, was situated in Southwestern Arizona, near the Sonora line, and it formed, at the close of the seventeenth century, a "rancheria," or temporary village of lodges of the Pápagos,¹ that branch of the Pimas which occupies the arid southwest of Arizona and the equally arid northwest of Sonora. Misled by the similarity of the name, the Vacapa of Fray Marcos has been identified with this northern locality.² Aside from the fact that the

¹ San Ludovic de Vacapa is found on the map of Sonora and Arizona prepared by Father Eusebius Kuehne, the great Jesuit missionary. Its distance from the coast is given (according to the scale) at fifteen leagues only. It is further mentioned in the manuscript entitled *Relacion Diaria de la Entrada al Norueste que fue de hida y buelta de 309 Leguas desde 22 de Septiembre hasta 18 de Octubre, Descubrim^{to} del Desemboque del Rio Grande a la Mar de la California y del Puerto de Sta Clara, etc.*, 1698. Its author is F. Eusebius Kuehne [Kino] himself, but it is bound in with the *Luz de Tierra Incognita* of Mange. He says of it: "Esta rancheria tiene mui buenos aguajes y tenia mucha mas gente la qual ha pasado a la Concepcion de Caborca, a baptizarse."

² Father Kuehne is responsible for this mistake. He says in his *Relacion Diaria* of 1698, above quoted: "Esta es la nombrada rancheria del Bacapa, hasta la qual llego el R. P. Fr. Marcos de Niza como lo trae en su tomo." Mange

description of Vacapa does not at all agree with the natural features of the "Papagueria," the latter being almost completely devoid of irrigation; the distance from Culiacan to the Bacapa of the seventeenth century is at least six hundred miles in a direct line. Considering the manner in which Fray Marcos travelled, he could not possibly, in the course of a month, have penetrated as far north.¹ He says, further, that from the coast to Vacapa the country was inhabited by the same people.² This would have been the case also in Southwestern Arizona, provided the coast was habitable, which is not the case there, and the difficulties would have been insuperable on account of the lack of water. Lastly, he sent Indians from Vacapa to the sea-coast to explore the nature of the islands of which he had been told previously. These Indians returned after *a week's absence*, and in their company came natives of the sea-shore. From any point of the "Papagueria," the homes of the Seris, who inhabited the main islands of the Californian Gulf, lie at least two hundred miles away to the south; whereas from Matape it is almost

(*Luz de Tierra Incognita*, p. 173) makes no comments; but it is plain that he follows the lead of his companion and friend, Kuehne.

¹ We may gather an idea of the longest distances travelled by the friar on this journey by what he says of his return trip, which he describes as having been almost a flight. *Relacion*, p. 349: "Y con el temor, despedime luego de aquella gente de aquel valle, y anduve el primero dia diez leguas, y ansi anduve á ocho y á diez leguas, sin parar hasta pasar el segundo despoblado." He manifestly refers to about twenty-five miles a day as a forced march for him. It is doubtful therefore whether, with his large escort, he could have made over fifteen miles daily, and it is known that he stayed several days at Petatlan among the Mayos and with the Yaquis (or the Guaymas?). Even without any delays, he could not have reached Bacapa in the Papagueria in less than two months. The circuits, detours, etc., which he would have been compelled to make, chiefly in order to find water, would have lengthened his route much more yet.

² Page 332: "Y ansi anduve tres dias, poblados de aquella misma gente, de los cuales fui rescibido como de los de atras, llegué á una razonable poblacion que se llama Vacapa."

exactly forty leagues (or 110 miles) to the coast beyond Hermosillo, facing the Isla del Tiburon, and separated from it by not more than fourteen miles of sea. The Seris held not merely the islands, but also the shore, and it was an easy matter for the messengers to go to them and return to Matape inside of one week, whereas it is utterly out of the question from San Luis de Bacapa except by sea. Matape was a considerable settlement of Eudeves; they spoke a dialect of the Opata, an intermediate "shade" between the Opata and the Pima.¹ I feel justified, therefore, in identifying the Vacapa of Fray Marcos with Matape of Central Sonora, instead of locating it, as has been done only too long, with an obscure gathering of Pápago lodges much farther north.

I have said that Fray Marcos had sent Indian scouts from Vacapa to the seaboard in order to find out about the islands of which he heard before, and that they came back in company with Indians from the coast. The latter certified to Fray Marcos that there were as many as thirty-four islands and islets close together, but that they were destitute of vegetable food, and their inhabitants, as well as their kindred on the coast, held intercourse with each other by means of rafts. These people can only have been the Seris, a wild and dangerous tribe, living from the hunt and from fisheries, from rapine and occasional barter with the inland tribes, with whom they exchanged fish, conch-shells, and other marine products, for maize and commodities which the Indians on the continent raised or manufactured.² I am not informed

¹ The Eudeve is classified as a dialect of the Opata. It is needless to quote authorities. As a specimen of the language, I only refer to the Lord's Prayer contained in the work of Francisco Pimentel, *Cuadro Descriptivo y Comparativo de las Lenguas Indígenas de México*, vol. ii. p. 164.

² Ribas, *Historia*, p. 358: "Sustentanse de cáça, aunque al tiempo de cosecha de maíz, con cueros de Venados, y sal, que recogen de la mar, van á rescatarlo á otras Naciones." Of the hostility of the Seris towards all the other

of the exact number of islands lying in the Gulf of California directly west of Hermosillo, and known as the original (as well as the present) haunts of the Seris, but there are certainly over twenty of them. There can be no doubt that these are the ones to which Fray Marcos refers, and it strengthens the position which I have taken in identifying Vacapa with Matape, where the Jesuit mission of "San José de Matapa" was afterwards founded in 1629.¹

The Seris brought to Fray Marcos "targets of cowhide, very well made, large, so as to cover them from head to foot, with openings above the handle to look through. These shields are so strong that a crossbow shot could not go through them."² If we substitute for cowhide the skins of the mule-deer (*Cariacus macrotus*, the "Bura" of the Mexicans), we shall easily understand this mistake of the friar. The mule-deer is common in Lower California,³ and the Seris raided that peninsula often, or traded with its natives. They also wore conch-shells on their foreheads, which, they said, frequently contained pearls. Two of these Seris attached themselves to the Friar's retinue, remaining with him of their own accord.⁴

So far, nothing had occurred to mar the success of the undertaking. The only accident worthy of note had been the loss of Fra Honorato. Everywhere the aborigines had re-

tribes it is needless to give further proof. They were a scourge to Sonora in times before as well as after the sixteenth century.

¹ This date is from the manuscript entitled *Catalogo de los Partidos contenidos en los Rectorados de las Misiones de Sonora por el Año de 1685*.

² *Relacion*, p. 334.

³ Dr. C. F. H. Ten Kate, *Reizen en Onderzoekingen in Noord Amerika*, 1885, p. 73. Speaking of the mammals of Lower California, he says: "Het grootste zoogdier dezer bergen is het hert (*Cariacus macrotus*), dat in kleine kudden rondwaalt en zelden gestoord wordt door den jager."

⁴ *Relacion*, p. 335: "Y dos indios de las islas dixeron que se querian andar conmigo siete ó ocho dias. Y con ellos y con los tres pintados que digo, me parti de Vacapa."

ceived Fray Marcos not only with kindness, but even with veneration. The recollections of Cabeza de Vaca were still fresh in their minds, and the sagacious provision made by the Viceroy in causing Pima Indians educated at Mexico to be placed at the disposal of the friar produced excellent results. Fray Marcos does not complain of the negro. Still, a chronicler of Coronado's expedition, Pedro de Castañeda, informs us that Estevan had made himself obnoxious to his Superior and to the people of the country by his overbearing manner, and especially by taking along with him on the road the women who were given to him at the villages.¹ However this may be, two days after they had arrived at Vacapa, Fray Marcos despatched the negro in advance to reconnoitre and report. His instructions were, "To go to the north fifty or sixty leagues, to see if in that direction there might be observed something great, or some rich country and well settled; and if he found anything or heard of anything of that kind, to stop, and to send me a message by some Indians. That message was to consist of a wooden cross of a white color. In case the discovery was of medium importance, he was to send me a cross of one span in length; if important, the cross was to be two spans in length; and if more important than New Spain, he should send me a large cross."² These instructions, as we have seen before, the negro was bound to obey to the letter.³

¹ *Relation du Voyage de Cibola*, p. 20: "Il parait que les religieux ne furent pas contents du nègre; il emmenait les femmes qu'on lui donnait, et ne pensait qu'à s'enrichir. Mais comme il savait bien se faire entendre des naturels de cette contrée, et que ces Indiens le connaissaient, les religieux se décidèrent à l'envoyer en avant, pour qu'à leur arrivée ils pussent traverser le pays pacifié, et qu'ils n'eussent plus qu'à recueillir les renseignements qu'ils désiraient."

² *Relacion*, p. 332.

³ *Instrucciones*: "Al cual mando que os obedezca en todo y por todo que vos le mandáredes, como á mi misma persona; y no haciendolo así, que incurra en mal caso y en las penas que caen los que no obedescen á las personas que tienen poder de S. M. para poderlos mandar."

On the afternoon of Passion Sunday, Estevan left Vacapa with a certain retinue of Indians, and Fray Marcos remained among the Eudeves.¹ He had no fear, and no cause for dreading anything. His manner, his tact, the presence of his interpreters, and the fame of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, had won for him the confidence and attachment of all the Indians through whom he passed. It need not surprise us to see natives of other tribes, who, like the Seris, were perpetually at war with their neighbors, travel long distances to visit him, placing themselves voluntarily at the mercy of their enemies, most of whom had just grounds for revenge. It was the rumor which had spread, that a man from heaven, or, to use Indian phraseology, "from above," a mighty medicine-man, had appeared, which caused an involuntary truce. So, when he sent for the Seris, they came, and their enemies regarded them as sacred, since they had come at the bidding of the powerful wizard. Fray Marcos took advantage of the disposition of his hosts everywhere to make them acquainted with the rudimentary symbols of Christian worship.² He showed them the sign of the cross, and here, as everywhere else, the Indian was at once struck by the token. The cross is an original symbol of the American aborigines. It is used by them to indicate a star, and the crosses of the morning and evening stars are particularly distinguished, among the Pueblos of New Mexico at least, by shape and color. The crucifix which the friar carried, and

¹ *Relacion*, p. 333: "Y asi se partió el dicho Estevan, negro, de mi Domingo de Pasion despues de comer, quedando en esta poblacion, que digo que se dice Vacapa."

² Antonio de Mendoza, *Deuxième Lettre à Charles V.* (*Cibola*, Appendix, p. 292), speaking of the expedition of Melchior Diaz in the beginning of 1540: "Il me dit qu'après être parti de Culiacan, et avoir passé le rio de Petatlan, il avait été constamment bien reçu par les Indiens. Il avait ordre d'envoyer une croix dans l'endroit où il se rendait. Les indigènes recevaient ce signe avec une profonde vénération; ils le plaçaient dans des maisons de nattes qu'ils construisaient exprès."

his manner of crossing himself, attracted the natives; and not only did they see no harm in imitating the gesture and in manufacturing small crosses for themselves, but they considered it profitable, as a reinforcement of the charm which their own primitive token of the cross was supposed to possess under certain circumstances. Since the monk accompanied every salutation, every address to others, with the gesture of the cross, that figure hereafter remained as a manifestation of peace and friendly welcome.¹ Further than this, however, the impressions made by the friar could not go. We can expect of him neither baptisms nor religious teachings. He had no time for either, and, furthermore, his mission was to explore and to prepare the ground for conversions. He was not so much a missionary as an emissary.

Not only did the ferocious Seris come to visit him at Vacapa, but three Indians from another tribe called on him also. "On this day three Indians came to see me, of the kind called 'Painted Indians,' their faces and chests and arms decorated with incisions. These live around by the way of the east, and people of their number get as far up as the Seven Cities. They said that they had come to see me because they had heard of me, and, among other things, they gave me much information concerning the Seven Cities and Provinces of which the Indian of Estevan has spoken, and their reports were almost the same as those sent by Estevan."

I have here purposely anticipated in the narrative of Fray Marcos, in order to interpolate the incident of the Painted Indians. Previous to their coming (and to that of the Seris), Estevan had sent to Vacapa Indian messengers "with a very large cross, as tall as a man; and they told me, by order of Estevan, that I should now follow him at once, since he had met people who gave him information of the greatest thing

¹ *Ibid.*

in the world, and that he was with Indians who had been there, of whom he sent me one; and this one told me so many things of the greatness of the country, that I refused to believe it until I saw it myself, or obtained further proof. He said that from where Estevan now was it was thirty days' march to the first city of the country, which was called Cibola. He further affirms and says, that in this first province there are seven very large cities, all under one lord, with houses of stone and lime, large, the smallest ones of two stories and with a flat roof, and others of three and four stories, and that of the lord with five, all placed together in order; and on the door-sills and lintels of the principal houses many figures of turquoise stones, of which he said there was a great abundance; and that the people of these cities are very well clothed; and many other particulars he told me, as well about these Seven Cities as of other provinces beyond, of which he said that each one was much more important than the Seven Cities. In order to find out how he came to know all this, I questioned him a great deal, and found him very reasonable."¹

Well might Fray Marcos add to this promising piece of news, "I gave thanks to our Lord." The Seven Cities, regarded as a dim vision ever since the time of Nuño de Guzman, were at last heard of, and in a manner that not only rendered their existence certain, but also indicated a way to reach them, and render his journey of the greatest value to Christendom in general, and to Spain in particular. Still, Fray Marcos did not hasten his departure, expecting that Estevan would wait for him as directed.

Not only had he received notice of the Seven Cities; the name of one of these had been told, and that name was Cibola.

¹ *Relacion*, p. 333: "Y para saber del como lo sabia, tuvimos muchas demandas y respuestas; y hallele de muy buena razon."

When we hear the name of a city, town, or village for the first time, in some country where another language is spoken than that of the people of the place mentioned or of the country in which it is situated, it becomes sometimes difficult to recognize that place again when we hear it mentioned by its proper designation, — its aboriginal name, so to speak. Thus, any one not versed in geography might fail to recognize in Aspinwall, Colón; in Ratisbonne, Regensburg; in Leghorn, Livorno. Assuming merely for the present (what I shall subsequently prove to be the case) that the Seven Cities were the seven villages of Zuñi in Western New Mexico, it does not follow that "Cibola" was the true name of any one of them. It may have been a word from some other of the many Indian idioms spoken between the Zuñi country and Central Sonora, or it may have been a corruption of "Shi-uo-na," the name in the Zuñi language for the range or country of the Zuñi tribe. The latter suggestion, which is due to Mr. Cushing, appears to me the most likely. It was even more common in the sixteenth century to write Ciuola than Cibola, and the corruption of Shiuona into Ciuola or Civola would not be much greater than that of the French Genève into the Spanish Ginebra, or of the French Trèves into the German Trier; or, particularly, the transformation of the old Roman names of towns into modern languages, as, for instance, Cæsar Augusta into Saragossa, Maguntia into Maynz, Colonia Agrippinæ into Coeln or Cologne, — and innumerable other cases of the kind. I incline, therefore, strongly to the belief, that, as Mr. Cushing has suggested, Cibola is a corruption of the name given by the Zuñi Indians to their tribal range.

During the explorations which I carried on in Arizona and Sonora for the Archæological Institute of America, in the years 1883 and 1884, I took particular pains to follow the probable route of Fray Marcos and of Coronado. I also in-

quired among the Apaches, the Pimas, and the Opatas, for any word or name that might sound like Cibola. The Arizonian Pimas have Civano-Ki (the house of Civano) for the celebrated ruin of Casa Grande on the Gila.¹ There is a rock in the Sierra Madre, near the head-waters of the Upper Yaqui River, called Ciconaro-Ko (the rock which people avoid or go around).² But neither of these terms, nor of the sites which they designate, is sufficiently analogous to Cibola or to the features of the region thus named. Still less is the term "Cibolo," as applied to the buffalo in New Mexico, of any weight. "Cibolo" is derived from Cibola; it is a contraction of the designation "cows of Cibola," which the Spaniards in early times applied to the American bison.³

Assuming Cibola to have been the Zuñi country, the question comes up, Who were the Indians, painted and tattooed, who visited Fray Marcos at Vacapa? These Indians lived east of the latter place, and some of their kindred were neighbors of Cibola. In my former publications on the journey of Fray Marcos, I have thought of identifying these "striated" Indians with the Pimas of the Gila River. I overlooked then, not having at my command the original version of Fray Marcos's report, the important feature of their being "tattooed," and not merely painted.⁴ I confess, therefore, that I am unable

¹ See my report in the *Fifth Annual Report of the Archaeological Institute of America*, p. 80. Also, Ten Kate, *Verbeteringen en Aanvullingen van Reizen en Onderzoekingen in Noord-Amerika*, 1889, p. 8: "De casagrande wordt ook Siwannoki of Siwanki, 'huis van Siwanno' genemd." This connection between Civano or Siva and the building was already noticed by Father Kuehne or Kino. It is stated since by various Jesuit missionaries of the past century.

² The "Civona-ro-co" is a rock jutting out over the rapid current of the Yaqui River, about three leagues east of Huachinera in Northwestern Sonora. It stands in the vicinity of numerous ruins of former Opata villages, as Quitamac, Batesopa, and Baquigopa.

³ This fact is well known. In the sixteenth century the word "Cibolo" was not yet in use. "Vacas de Cibola," however, appears frequently.

⁴ The original has, "Este día me viniéron tres indios de los que llaman pin-

to place them ethnographically. In the immediate vicinity of Zuñi, the Apaches and Navajos alone were wont to roam, and neither of these tribes decorated their bodies with incisions. It must be said, also, that the original text is much less clear—that is, much less decisive—than the French translation attempts to make it; and that, while it seems improbable that the terms “labrados” and “pintados” apply to painting of the body alone, (judging from analogy with the Jumanos Indians, who really tattooed themselves,) there is still a possibility that paint alone is meant. In that case, then, it is more than likely that those “Painted Indians” were the Pimas of the Gila River in Arizona, or the Sobaypuris, some of whom came in occasional contact with Zuñi.

On the second day after Easter Sunday, Fray Marcos at last left Vacapa with two Seris and the three Painted Indians, and also with his interpreters, although he does not mention them, and followed the trail of the negro in a northerly direction.¹ After three days' march he reached the village where Estevan had received the first intelligence of Cibola. In three days' march from Matape, going north, he must have reached the valley of the Sonora River, near Babiacara, and the Indians there, who knew of Cibola, were therefore the Opatas.² From them he obtained further corroboration of what Estevan had reported,—that Cibola was thirty days' journey off; that the houses of these towns were

tados, labrados los rostros y pechos y brazos.” Ternaux-Compans translates, “Ils avaient le visage, la poitrine et les bras peints.” But “labrado” commonly signifies “tattooed” in a case like this.

¹ *Relacion*, p. 335.

² The distance from Matape to Babiacara on the Sonora River is, by air line, a little over sixty miles. Ures lies more to the northwest, whereas Babiacara is almost due north. Along the route, the friar would have had to traverse the villages of the Eudeves, like Alamos, and others. That the Opatas occupied the Sonora River valley is well established. The Ures were Pimas. See Orozco y Berra, *Geografia de las Lenguas*, p. 351; also Zapata, *Relacion de las Misiones*, 1678, p. 352, “La lengua es Pima.”

as large and as high as stated; that Cibola was the first of the "Seven Cities"; and that besides the seven there were other "kingdoms," called Marata, Acus, and Totontecac. He inquired why they went to countries so remote from their homes, and "they told me that they went in search of turquoises, cow-hides, and other objects; and that in that pueblo there were quantities of them. I also sought to ascertain what they gave in exchange, and they replied, that it was the sweat of their brows and their personal service; that they went to the first city, which is called Cibola, and served there in digging the ground and in other work, and that they received skins of cows, of those which they have there, and turquoises for their services. The folk of the villages all wear turquoises, good and fine ones, hanging from their ears and nostrils, and they say that there are many decorations made with turquoises in the principal doorways of Cibola. They told me that the manner of dress at Cibola is a cotton shirt down to the ankle, with a button at the throat and a long cord depending from it, and the sleeves of the shirts of equal width from shoulder to wrist. This strikes me as being like the dress of Bohemians. They say that they also wear girdles of turquoises, and that over the shirts some carry very good mantles, others cow-skins, well prepared, of which they say that in that country there are many, and they hold them in greatest esteem; also that the women are dressed like the men, and clothed from head to foot."¹

¹ *Relacion*, p. 335. The statement that they earned their turquoises at Cibola by the sweat of their brows — "con el sudor y servicio de sus personas" — is probably a misunderstanding on the Friar's part. What the Opatas probably intended to say was, that the turquoises were picked or dug from the rock with considerable effort. At the Cerrillos, near Santa Fé, where since time immemorial the Tanos, and later on the Queres, obtained their turquoises, stone hammers and axes have been found rather plentifully, by means of which these natives obtained the precious stones. Where the Zuñis obtained their tur-

I shall for the present merely call attention to the fact that Fray Marcos relates from hearsay only, and not *de visu*. He was very well received by the Opatas, who brought many of their sick in order that he might cure them. All the Friar could do for the invalids was to have them touch his garb, and to bless them.¹ Here he was shown skins of cows very well tanned and dressed, which they said came from Cibola.² But here also he found out that Estevan, instead of obeying his orders, had already left, in company with some of their own people. This was an act of disobedience on the part of the negro, and one which was to prove fatal to him in the end.

quoises is not yet positively ascertained; but it is quite certain that no Indians from another tribe went to Zuñi to hire out their services in exchange for trinkets, or any other object of barter. They may have gone to distant countries to trade for them, or to dig for them themselves; but they certainly did not perform any work as journeymen or as hired hands among utter strangers.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 336: "Y traianme enfermos que los curase, y procuraban de tocarme la ropa, sobre los cuales yo decia el Evangelio."

² *Ibid.*: "Dieronme algunos cueros de Vaca, tan bien adobados y labrados, que en ellos parecian ser hechos de hombres de mucha pulicia, y todos decian que venian de Cibola." It is not impossible that buffalo robes might have found their way as far as Sonora through exchange and barter. The Zuñis themselves did not engage in regular buffalo hunts on the plains of Eastern New Mexico, as some of the Rio Grande Pueblos were wont to do until lately; still they had buffalo hides which they obtained from their eastern congeners. When Coronado reached Cibola, in the year after Fray Marcos's journey, Indians from as far east as Pecos came to visit him. They carried with them, and presented to the Spanish commander, "des cuirs tannés, des boucliers et des casques." Castañeda, *Cibola*, p. 68. These objects were of buffalo hide, for the chronicler adds: "On ne l'aurait jamais deviné en voyant les peaux de ces animaux, car elles étaient couvertes d'un poil laineux et frisé qui ressemblait à de la laine." That the people of Cibola, occasionally at least, dressed in buffalo robes, is stated in *Relacion del Suceso de la Jornada que Francisco Vazquez hizo en el Descubrimiento de Cibola* (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. xiv. p. 320): "Se visten de mantas de Hennegrien é de cueros de venados, é algunos de vaca." Also by the Captain Juan Jaramillo, *Relacion hecha por el . . . de la Jornada que Habia Hecho á la Tierra nueva en Nueva España y al Descubrimiento de Cibola, etc.* (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. xiv. p. 308): "Alcanzan ya algunos cueros de vacas adobado con que se cobijan, que son a manera de bernias y de mucho abrigo."

Thence on Fray Marcos came to villages daily for seven days in succession, being everywhere received with open arms, the people treating him to the best they had, and loading him with presents, among which were cow-hides and turquoises. What was more important to him was the detailed information he received concerning Cibola. It is beyond doubt that he was now marching up the Sonora River, through the picturesque and fairly populous valley that extends at intervals on both banks. Estevan did not fail either to send him word almost daily, or to leave behind large crosses, planted in token that he continued to receive encouraging news. But, withal, the negro had deserted his master, and was hurrying on as fast as he could towards Cibola. What may have prompted him to such a course it is impossible to tell. The surmise lies near at hand, that Estevan wished to secure for himself the glory of the first discovery, and therefore disregarded the commands of the Viceroy and the Friar's positive instructions. Incidentally let it be remarked, that Fray Marcos was so struck by the beauty of the Sonora valley that he took formal possession of it.¹ It is indeed a beautiful vale, of the most varying aspects of landscape, with a charming climate, and combining the grandeur of picturesque mountain gorges with the softness of extremely fertile expanses. Nothing is more striking than the contrast between the rich vale extending from Aconchi to Sinoquipe and the gigantic cleft, bordered by towering cliffs, which extends from Sinoquipe as far north almost as Arizpe. The lonely traveller, who is compelled to cross and recross the Sonora River innumerable times, as the bed of it occupies nearly the entire bottom of the gorge, is in doubt as to what he shall most admire, whether the height and form of the crags and pin-

¹ *Relacion*, p. 337: "Aqui puse dos cruces y tomé posesion, conforme á la instruccion, porque me pareció ser aquella mejor tierra que la que quedaba atras, y que convenia desde alli hacer auto de posesion."

nacles, or the vivid hues of their strata, or the strange vegetation that often clings to the most precipitous walls. Fray Marcos makes no mention of these beauties. This is accounted for by the fact, that, if he felt at all disposed to record impressions of that kind, he would have assigned them rather to the report "in which he gives the names of the places," and not to the one which we have, and which might be termed a "personal narrative" only.

The reasons for which I am quite satisfied that Fray Marcos took the route of the Sonora River are the following. From Matape, the most direct, and, in point of safety and comfort, the most convenient route, was that of the valley of the Rio Sonora. By striking the stream about Babiadora, the river bed afforded an easy and almost direct road to the north. In Northern Sonora the water-courses indicate the routes of travel. There are two main streams which run almost parallel with each other in a southerly direction, the Sonora and the Yaqui; although the latter, taking its origin under the twenty-ninth degree of latitude, flows to the north first, approaching the line of the United States to within seventy miles. From Matape the Sonora was by far the most accessible. It also afforded advantages in the nature of its population. To reach the Yaqui from Matape entailed difficult, long, and dangerous journeys over desolate, frequently waterless mountains. The Opatas on the Upper Yaqui were cut up into small communities, at war with one another and with other tribes.¹ Along the Sonora, however,

¹ The Opatas on the Upper Yaqui River, where the latter is called Rio de Babispe, Rio de Huassavas, and Rio de Sahuaripa, were more distant from each other than those on the Sonora River. This was a consequence of the topography. There is but one considerable valley in that part of Sonora which is irrigated directly by the large stream. This is the valley where Babispe and Baserac are situated. The other vales are much smaller. The Opatas at Tamichopa, at Quitamac, and at Huassavas, still more those of Babispe, were divided into independent communities, and are mentioned as distinct tribes in 1645 by

none of these obstacles arose. The Opatas there were always noted for the gentleness of their dispositions and for a higher degree of culture.¹ It was therefore very natural that Estevan, and after him Fray Marcos, should select or be directed to that long valley as the nearest and best route towards Cibola and the distant north.

On the seventh day, the monk came to the last village, which he describes as lying in a country well irrigated and fertile.² This would agree either with the situation of Bacuachi, or with that of Mututicachi, on the upper course of the Sonora River. Remains of Indian villages are still visible higher up, as far as "Los Fresnos," ten miles south of the place where the stream rises, but they lie in a gorge. At either of the two places first mentioned, however, a broad, sunny valley expands, and especially at Bacuachi the water supply is ample. Remains of older settlements are found around and near the present village.³

Proceeding northward, the Friar entered upon an uninhabited stretch of four days' march.⁴ Although the term

Ribas, *Historia de los Trivmphos* (lib. vi. cap. i. p. 359): "La Nacion de los Batucos, caminãdo al Norte, tiene tambien por confinantes muchas Naciones de Gentiles amigos Cumupas, Buasdavas, Bapispes y declinando al Oriente, a los Sunas." Castañeda, in *Cibola*, p. 157, recognizes this state of things too. He says: "Derrière cette province [the Sonora River valley] jusqu'aux montagnes sont bâtis un grand nombre de villages habités par des Indiens, qui forment une multitude de tribus à part, réunis en petites nations de sept ou huit, dix ou douze villages; ce sont Upatrico, Mochila, Guagarispa, El Vallecillo, et d'autres qui sont près des montagnes, et que nous n'avons pas vus."

¹ Ribas, *Historia*, p. 392: "La gente que en el está poblada, es del mismo natural que los Sisibotaris, y de las mismas costumbres, vestidos como ellos, y mas que otras Naciones, sus casas mas durables y compuestas."

² *Relacion*, pp. 336, 337.

³ Beyond Mututicachi, and as high up as Janoverachi and Los Fresnos, the river flows through a gorge, or, to say the least, through a narrow valley, where there is but little room for cultivation, and only in few sites. On the whole stretch of nearly thirty miles to Los Fresnos I heard only of burial places. At Los Fresnos there are ruins, but the valley is a mere bay of small extent.

⁴ *Relacion*, p. 338: "Otro dia entré en el despoblado, y donde habia de á

"desert" is used, it was not a treeless waste, but simply a country without human abodes. Such is, indeed, the expanse between the northern end of the valley of Bacuachi and the upper course of the San Pedro River of Southern Arizona. Mountain fastnesses, not treeless, but rugged and wild, separate the site of Mututicachi from the present Palominas or Ochoaville on the San Pedro. It is not likely that the Franciscan had to take the most direct route, which is a "short cut" following the Sonora River to its source (the Ojo de Agua del Valle), and thence along the eastern base of the Sierra de San José to the upper course of the Arizonian San Pedro. The distance he would have had to travel on this trail is quite eighty miles, to the vicinity of the present settlement of Fairbanks, near where the vestiges of former villages of the Sobaypuris begin to appear. Estevan had already left: the negro was hurrying northward.

At the village which I have located above in the vicinity of Bacuachi, which village appears to have been the last one of the Opatas in that direction, Fray Marcos secured further confirmation of the details which the Indians previously gave him concerning Cibola. In addition, he relates the following singular occurrence:—

"I wore a gown of gray cloth, of the kind called of Saragossa, which the Governor of New Galicia, Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, had caused me to wear. The lord of this pueblo and other Indians touched the garment with their hand, and told me that there was much of the same kind at Toton-

comer, hallé ranchos y comida bastante, junto á un arroyo, y á la noche hallé casas y así mismo comida, y así lo tuve cuatro días que me duró el despoblado." The "arroyo," or brook, would seem to indicate that he travelled along the Rio Sonora. The term "arroyo" can hardly be taken here in the sense usually applied to it in the Southwest, namely, as a mountain torrent only. Since that "arroyo" had water in May, it must have been a permanent brook, and as such the Sonora River appears near to its source.

teac, and that the natives dressed in it. I laughed at their remark, saying that it could not be,—that they probably wore cotton mantles only. But they said, ‘Do you think that we do not know that what you wear is different from our dress? Know that at Cibola the houses are filled with the cloth which we wear; but at Totontecac there are a kind of small animals, from which they take wherewith to manufacture what you have on your body.’ I was much astonished, having never heard anything like it before, and inquired of them further, and they said that the animals are of the size of the two Castilian greyhounds which Estevan had with him; also that there are many of them in Totontecac. I could not find out what sort of animals they were.”¹

This passage in Fray Marcos’s report has aroused considerable speculation. The majority of surmises have been that the people of Totontecac were a sheep or goat herding people. The mountain sheep is not a small animal, and it has no wool; the mountain goat is smaller, and its fleece might correspond to a certain extent to the material described, although the color is lighter. Neither of these animals was ever domesticated by Indians, nor is there any trace that they were ever hunted for any other purpose than

¹ *Relacion*, p. 338: “É yo llevaba vestido un hábito de paño pardo, que llaman de Saragoza, que me hizo traer Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, gobernador de la Nueva Galicia; y el Señor deste pueblo y otros indios tentaron el hábito con las manos, y me dixeron que de aquello habia mucho en Totontecac, y que lo traian vestido los naturales de alli, de lo cual yo me reí, y dixe que no sería sino de aquellas mantas de algodón quellos traian y dixeronme: ‘Piensas que no sabemos que eso que tu traes y lo que nosotros traemos es diferente? Sabe que en Cibola todas las casas estan llenas desta ropa que nosotros traemos más; mas en Totontecac hay unos animales pequeños, de los cuales quitan lo con que se hace esto que tu traes.’ Yo me admiré, porque no habia oido tal cosa hasta qué llegué aqui, y quiseme informar muy particularmente dello, y dixéronme que los animales son del tamaño de dos galgos de Castilla que llevaba Esteban; dicen que hay muchos en Totontecac; no pude atinar que genero de animales fuese.”

for their meat. Occasionally their hides or fleeces have been used, but only now and then, as a matter of caprice or temporary necessity. Of the supposed former existence of a species of Guanaco or Vicuña in North America, other than fossil remains, there is no evidence. It has been overlooked, that, even at the present time, the Moquis of Arizona manufacture blankets out of the fur of the jack-rabbit and of the cony (*Lepus callotis* and *sylvaticus*). The fur is cut into narrow strips, which are afterwards wound around a core of yucca fibre so as to form a cord, and out of such cords the blankets are plaited or tressed rather than woven. The garment is extremely warm and quite heavy, and in color as well as in weight it bears tolerable resemblance to the gray "Saragossa cloth" worn by the monk on that occasion. When Coronado visited New Mexico in the following year, such blankets of rabbit-hair were found among the Moquis (Tusayan), as well as at Zuñi-Cibola, although they were most abundant in the former tribe.¹

Estevan had certainly disobeyed the commands of his chief; he did not, however, forsake him altogether. He had provided for Fray Marcos's journey through the uninhabited stretch by causing the Indians to erect sheds at stated intervals, where he expected the Friar to camp over

¹ The comparison of the jack-rabbit with the Spanish greyhound holds good in color, and to a certain extent in appearance. As to size, the greyhound is, of course, taller; but the comparison is, after all, well imagined, no other animal of that region (the antelope excepted) being fleet and slender enough to assimilate to the greyhound in appearance. In view of the fact that rabbit-hair mantles were extensively worn at Moqui (and also at Zuñi) at the time, the explanation suggested seems more than likely. In regard to the latter point, I quote Castañeda (*Cibola*, p. 163), speaking of Cibola: "Ces naturels ont aussi des espèces de pelisses en plumes ou en peaux de lièvres, et des étoffes en coton." *Relacion Postrera de Sivola* (MS.): "Tambien hacen mantas de pellejos de liebres y de conejos, con que se cubren." I saw one of these robes at Zuñi, and found on the Upper Rio Gila, in a cave village, a piece of the cords or twists out of which they are made.

night. This was considerate, but cannot justify his disobedience.¹

One of the first things that struck Fray Marcos when he arrived among the Sobaypuris was, aside from the well settled valley, the number of turquoises worn as ornaments by the people. Some had as many as three and four strings of green stones around their neck; others carried them as ear-pendants and in their noses. The women were dressed in good skirts and chemises. "Cibola was as well known here as Mexico is in New Spain, or Cuzco in Peru; and they described fully the shape of the houses, the arrangement of the villages, the streets and squares, like people who had been there often, and who obtained there, in return for their services, the objects of luxury and convenience which they possessed. I said to them that it could not be possible that the houses were of such a kind as they represented; and in order to give me to understand it, they took soil and ashes, poured water on them, and showed me how they placed the stones and how they raised the structure, putting mud and stone until it rose on high. I asked the men if the people there had wings to ascend to these stories (of the buildings); but they laughed, and described to me a ladder, as well as I could have done it myself, and they took a pole, placing it on their heads to show that that was the height from story to story. I also heard from them about the cloth of Totonteac, where they say that the houses are like those of Cibola, but better and more numerous, and that it is a big thing without any end to it."²

¹ *Relacion*, p. 338, above quoted.

² *Ibid.*, p. 339: "Aqui habia tanta noticia de Cibola, como en la Nueva España, de México y en el Perú, del Cuzco; y tan particularmente contaban la manera de las casas y de la poblacion y calles y plazas della, como personas que habian estado en ella muchas veces, y que traian de allá las cosas de pulicia, que tenian habidas por su servicio, como los de atrás. Yo les decia que no era

Again I refer to the fact, that the monk speaks from hearsay only, and does not comment upon what he has heard. As to the true ethnological bearing of these statements, I withhold my opinion for the present.

Now comes a rather puzzling statement of Fray Marcos: "Here I learned that the coast turns to the westward suddenly, for until the first uninhabited stretch it always trended to the north; and as the course of the coast and its turn is a matter of much importance, I went to examine, and clearly saw that at a latitude of thirty-five degrees it turns to the west, by which I was no less overjoyed than by the good news about the inland country."¹

From the San Pedro Valley to the coast the distance is very great; furthermore, the country is not favorable for transit. In a direct line, two hundred miles separate the head-waters of the San Pedro from the "Bahia de Tena-

posible que las casas, fuesen de la manera que me decian, y para darmelo á entender, tomaban tierra y ceniza, y echábanle agua y señalabanme como ponian la piedra y como subian el edificio arriba, poniendo aquello y piedra hasta ponello en lo alto; preguntábales á los hombres de aquella tierra, si tenian alas para subir aquellos sobrados; reianse y señalabanme el escalera, tambien como la podria yo señalar, y tomaban un palo y ponianlo sobre la cabeza y decian que aquel altura hay de sobrado á sobrado. Tambien tuve aqui relacion del paño de lana de Totonteac, donde dicen que las casas son como las de Cibola y mejores y muchas mas, y que es cosa muy grande y que no tiene cabo." The description given of the manner in which "adobes" were made is very exact, and proves that the information is authentic. Previous to the importation of cereals, the Pueblo Indians indeed made their adobes by mixing ashes with the mud. Castañeda, *Cibola*, p. 168: "Ils n'ont pas de chaux, mais ils font un mélange de cendre, de terre et de charbon qui la remplacent très bien. . . . Ils font de grands tas de thym et de jonc, et y mettent le feu; quand cette masse est réduite en cendre et en charbon, ils jettent dessus une grande quantité de terre et d'eau, et mêlent le tout ensemble."

¹ *Relacion*, p. 339: "Aqui supe que la costa se vuelve al Poniente, muy de recio, porque hasta la entrada deste primer despoblado que pasé, siempre la costa se venia metiendo al Norte; y como cosa que importa mucho [saber] volver la costa, quiselo saber, y así fui en demanda della y vi claramente, que en los treinta y cinco grados, vuelve al Oeste, de que no menos alegría tuve, que de la buena nueva de la tierra."

cates," or Adair Bay; but the observation on the change in the course of the shore is correct, although the latitude is, of course, erroneously given. The Sonoran coast begins to turn to the west-northwest in latitude 31° . Fray Marcos was, among the Sobaypuris, in latitude $31^{\circ} 40'$, about. His error is, therefore, not only the common excess of one degree and one half, (which is the average error of observations of the time,) it is even two degrees greater.

He does not state how long a time he spent on the trip towards the Gulf; but after his return he proceeded down the valley for five days. The villages in it were small, so much so that he calls them "Barrios," a term equivalent to "wards" of a larger town, and they were at short distances from one another. The soil was fertile and well irrigated, and the people knew Cibola from having been there.¹ He even met a man who was a native of Cibola. He was aged, and had fled from there owing to some difficulty. That individual informed

¹ The term "Barrio" is defined as follows in Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana*, 1674, p. 86: "Barrio. Antiguamente los hombres de labrança tenían sus caserías en ellas, y estas se dixeron barrio en Arabigo, de Barr, campo, y assi vale tanto barrio como casa de campo: y porque no estaban seguros de los ladrones, y robadores, juntaronse muchos barrios, y hizieron un lugar distinto en los dichos barrios, aunque conjuntos unos á otros, y estos se llamaron en Latin Vicos, y los moradores dellos vizinos, vezinos; y el barrio vezindad. Quando el trigo, o otra semilla no ha nacido igualmente, sino un pedazo apartado de otro, dezimos auer nacido a barrios, aludiendo al asiento que tuvieron primero los barrios, apartados uno de otro: y quando las barbas nacen á mechones, se dize lo mismo dellos: y aunque entiendo ser el nombre barrio Arabigo, y auerle dado su verdadera etymologia, en barr, campo, todavia hemos de cumplir con los que le dan otro origen. El vulgo, de vario, porque se distingue de las otra vezinadades. Los que profesan la lengua Griega; dizen, que de Baris, domus, o de pariquesis, i bariquesis, mudada la P. tenue en B. media: los Hebreos del verbo Creare, por ser cada barrio de aquellas generaciones distinta, o del mismo verbo, en quanto significa succidere, por estar cada barrio dividido uno de otro." I place some importance on this definition, since it explains the application of the word to the distinct sections or quarters of the pueblos, each of which was at one time occupied by a distinct gens or clan.

Fray Marcos "that the lord of those seven cities lives and resides in one of them called Ahacus, and has placed others in the other cities to command there for him; . . . and he told me that Cibola is a big city, in which there are many people, streets and squares, and that in some parts of the city there are very large houses, as high as eleven stories, in which the principal men come together on certain days of the year. They say that the houses are of stone and lime, as others had already told me, and that the entrances and fronts of the principal buildings are of turquoises. He also said to me, that the other Seven Cities are like this one, and some of them larger, and that the principal one of all is Ahacus. He says that towards the southeast there is a kingdom called Marata, in which there used to be many and large settlements, all of which are of houses of stone and many-storied, and that this kingdom was and still is at war with the lord of the Seven Cities, through which warfare the kingdom of Marata has declined greatly, although it still holds its own, and is at war with the others. And he also stated that towards the southeast lies the kingdom called Totonteac, which he mentions as being the largest in the world, the most populous, and the wealthiest, and that there they dress in cloth made of the material out of which is manufactured the gown I wear, and others of a thinner kind, and that it is taken from the animals mentioned to me previously; and that the people are highly civilized, different from those I have yet seen. He also said that there is another very large province and kingdom named Acus. There is also Ahacus, and that word, with aspiration, is the name of one of the Seven Cities, the largest of them all; and Acus, without aspiration, is a province by itself. He stated that the costume of Cibola was as it had been described to me; that all those who dwell in that city sleep in beds elevated above the floor, covered with

sheets and bedding. He offered to go with me to Cibola, and beyond, if I would take him along.”¹

It would require too much space to give the remainder of the friar's statements concerning what the Sobaypuris told him about Cibola. It all confirmed what he had been told before.² But it is well to note the testimony given by him to the veracity of the Indians, — how they described to him the route which he had to take, the villages he would meet, the places where he was to pass the night, and where he would find food and water. He always found everything in accordance with their statements. He also found that as much and as carefully as he inquired after Cibola, examining his informants alone and in groups, cross-examining them, their sayings always corroborated one another.³

In the most northerly village of the Sobaypuris he rested three days, and here estimates the distance “from the place where I received the first information about Cibola” at 112 leagues. Beyond that village lay a country completely deserted, which it would take fifteen days to cross, and at the

¹ *Relacion*, p. 341. I copy only a part of the concluding sentence: “Tambien dixo que hay otra provincia y reino muy grande, que se dice Acus, porque hay Ahacus: y Ahacus, con aspiracion, es una de las siete cibdades, la mas principal, Acus, es reino y provincia por si.” The passage about Marata reads (p. 340): “Dice que á la parte del Sueste, hay un reino, que se llama Marata, en que solia haber muchas y muy grandes poblaciones, y que todas tienen estas casas de piedra y sobrados, y questos han tenido y tienen guerra con el Señor destas siete cibdades, por la cual guerra se ha disminuido en gran cantidad este reino de Marata, aunque todavia esta sobre si y tiene guerra con estotros.” The statement that Totonteac was *southeast* (“á la parte del Sueste”) is a manifest slip of the pen.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 339-341.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 342: “Desde el primer día que yo tuve noticia de la cibdad de Cibola, los indios me dixeron todo lo que hasta hoy he visto; diciendome siempre los pueblos que habia de hallar en el camino y los nombres dellos,” etc. Page 343: “Y no hacia sino tomar indios y preguntalles aparte á cada uno por si, y todos se conformaban en una misma cosa.” Estevan also sent him word that he had found the natives absolutely reliable.

end of which Cibola was situated.¹ This is one of the most important statements for locating Cibola, from the monk's report, as well as the valley where Fray Marcos was then, and Vacapa.

The Apache reservation of Arizona, often designated as the White Mountain reservation, has been without permanent settlements for the past four centuries at least. The Apaches roamed and hunted through it; but their "rancherias" lay aside from the trails which crossed from the Gila River to Zuñi. In fifteen days a European traveller can cross it on foot; an Indian might do it in shorter time. Zuñi lies, not on the border of the timbered mountain region, but within three days' march of its northern limit. It can even be reached from Showlow in two days. South of the reservation, the San Pedro valley, with its Sobaypuri villages, was the nearest inhabited spot. The Pima villages on the Gila, west of Florence, are much farther off. From the Upper San Pedro valley to Matape the air-line distance is nearly 260 miles. Fray Marcos indicates the leagues which he actually walked between the two points at 112, or 302 miles. The difference of forty miles is easily accounted for by the detours which he had to make. While this alone would not be sufficient ground for identifying the localities named with the places mentioned in Fray Marcos's report, it still renders that identification very plausible.

In the San Pedro valley the monk was shown a hide "one and a half times the size of that of a large cow's; and they told me that it was that of a beast which has only one horn on its forehead, and that this horn is bent down to the breast,

¹ He took possession of the San Pedro valley. Page 342: "Porque estaba el despoblado cuatro leguas de aqui; y desde el principio del hasta llegar á la ciudad de Cibola, hay largos quince dias de camino." Ternaux-Compans translates "despoblado" by "désert," thus creating a false impression.

whence it turns up in a point which they say is so strong that it breaks everything which it strikes. Of these animals they say that there are many in the country. The color of the hide is like that of a he-goat, and the hair as long as a finger." It is not difficult to recognize in this description the skin and fur of the mountain sheep (*Ovis montana*), but the statements as to the great size of the animal and its single horn are of course erroneous. The mountain sheep was once very common along the Gila River. It penetrated as far south as the twenty-ninth parallel, into Sonora; and to-day it exists in Chihuahua, south of the thirty-first (if not of the thirtieth) degree of latitude. The description of a unicorn, as given to Fray Marcos, was certainly but a misunderstanding. The skull and horns of the mountain sheep are to-day regarded by many Indians as the hardest substance known; and the dialect spoken by the Sobaypuris was sufficiently distinct from that of the Southern Pimas to render a full understanding of the picture given quite difficult. As to the size, it is very clear that the hide in question could not have been from one single animal, but several may have been sewed together, as is not infrequently done.¹

¹ *Relacion*, p. 341: "Aqui en este valle, me truxeron un cuero, tanto y medio mayor que de una gran vaca, y me dixeron ques de un animal, que tiene solo un cuerno en la frente y questo cuerno es corbo hacia los pechos, y que de alli sale una punta derecha, en la cual dicen que tiene tanta fuerza, que ninguna cosa, por recia que sea, dexa de romper, si topa con ella; y dicen que hay muchos animales destos en aquella tierra; la color del cuero es a manera de cabron y el pelo tan largo como el dedo" This statement, somewhat disfigured, is repeated in a letter from the "Contador" Rodrigo de Albornóz to Alonso de la Torre, Royal Treasurer at Española, dated October 18, 1739, and published by Oviedo in *Historia General*, vol. iv. lib. xl. cap. i p. 19. But the Contador adds: "Dize que no son unicornios, sino otra manera de animales." The mountain sheep was seen near the Gila by Castañeda in 1540. *Cibola*, p. 159: "On trouve beaucoup de moutons et de chèvres sauvages; ces animaux sont très-grands, ils ont de longues cornes. Des Espagnols assurent en avoir vu des troupeaux de plus de cent, mais qui s'enfuyaient aussitôt qu'on les apercevait." Page 54: "L'armée arriva ensuite à Chichilticale. Près de là, les sentinelles espagnoles

After having rested among the Sobaypuris for three days, Fray Marcos entered the "desert," to traverse which he had been warned that fifteen days would be required. He had learned that Estevan, when he preceded him on this last toilsome trip, had gone in company with "three hundred men, accompanying him and carrying provisions." Many also desired to accompany the monk, and he allowed them to join him. Their object was "to serve me, and because they expected to return wealthy."¹

Indian wealth is not, even to-day, what we regard as material riches. We look to metallic treasures, or the current equivalent thereof. The Indians' primitive standards of wealth are natural products that have hardly any value for us. There is first a conventional currency which we consider as useless, — shell beads! Then there are bright stones, green and blue being the most favored colors; green, because the earth is green when enlivened by living and thriving plants; blue, because the sky is blue when it is serene, and therefore smiles on mankind. Other tints and hues, provided they are bright, are also appreciated. These,

virent passer un troupeau de moutons, et moi-même je les ai vus et suivis : ils étaient très-grands, avaient les cornes et le poil très-longs. Lorsqu'ils veulent courir, ils penchent la tête en arrière, de sorte qu'ils ont les cornes couchées le long du dos." This habit of the mountain sheep to bend the head back while running, so that the points of their big horns turn upwards, may be the cause of the description given to Fray Marcos of an animal with one horn on the forehead bending down to the breast and then turning up to a point. At Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, I saw an ancient pestle, the upper part of which was carved into a very well-made figure of the head of a mountain sheep. That the animal is still found in the mountains of Northwestern Chihuahua and in the Northern Sierra Madre is a well established fact.

¹ *Relacion*, p. 342: "Y que conmigo tambien querian ir muchos, por servirme y porque pensaban volver ricos." Page 343: "Pasados los tres dias, se juntó mucha gente para ir conmigo, de los cuales tomé hasta treinta principales, muy bien vestidos con aquellos collares de turquesas, que algunos dellos traian á cinco y á seis vueltas; y con estos tomé la gente necesaria que llevase comida para ellos y para mí, y me puse en camino."

feathers, idols, and charms are the treasures, the wealth, the primitive currency, of the Indian of the Southwest. But this fact was discovered only after long contact with the aborigines, and Fray Marcos took the expressions of riches literally, and reported them as such. The Sobaypuris who accompanied him were dressed in all their finery, especially loading themselves with turquoises. It was manifestly their intention to make an impression upon the people of Cibola.¹

On the 9th of May the monk entered the uninhabited country. There was no lack of water, however, on the road. Estevan had provided in a measure for the safe journey of his Superior. Huts or bowers had been constructed at the places where he knew the monk had to pass the night. There was never any lack of food, as the Indians who accompanied Fray Marcos were able to supply him with an abundance of game. This is noteworthy, since had the monk taken a route from the west (from Casa Grande, for instance) he would have suffered both from lack of water and from absence of game, whereas in passing through what is now the Apache reservation neither game nor water failed. Thus he travelled for twelve days with his Indian escort.²

It was therefore on the last day of May, 1539,³ that Fray Marcos, when within two or three days' journey of Cibola,

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.* To reach Zuñi from Casa Grande, or from the Gila in its vicinity, requires long and difficult travel. The mountains are rough, and compel long detours. The portion of the Lower Rio Salado between the Tempe Delta on the west and Upper Salt River Valley on the east is almost impassable. The mountains on both sides, the Superstition Range and the Mas-a-Sar, are rugged, forbidding, and very scantily watered. Beyond the junction of the Arroyo Pinal the head-waters of Salt River are extremely difficult to traverse; and had he turned northward, avoiding the Sierra Ancha, in order to get into Tonto Basin, months would have been required to reach either Zuñi or Moqui from the Gila.

³ We have seen that he entered the desert on the 9th of May, old style, that is, on the 19th, new style. Twelve days hence—that is, on the 21–31st of

according to the statements of his guides, was surprised at meeting one of the Indians who had gone thither with the negro. The man was on his return, and that return was a precipitate flight. He brought sad tidings. Estevan had reached Cibola, but the people of that place had killed him, with many of his escort, and the survivors were fleeing for their lives.

This well known catastrophe, which forms the turning point in the hitherto extremely successful journey, deserves to be closely investigated. In the first place, we must refer to the tale told Fray Marcos by the fugitives themselves; next, we have to consider the traditions of the Zuñi Indians which Mr. Cushing has succeeded in gathering; and, finally, some reports obtained in the year following by the expedition of Coronado to Zuñi, and by that of Hernando de Alarcon to the Colorado of the West. It is well to observe at once that the Zuñi is, so far as known, the only Southwestern tribe which has preserved any recollection of the event, and that the Zuñi traditions are positive as to the fact that the negro was killed at one of their villages, and by their own people.

The friar tells the tale as follows: "He told me that, one day previous to reaching Cibola, Estevan sent, as he was wont to do always, his gourd, in order to show them in what quality he was coming. The gourd had a few strings of rattles and two plumes, one of which was white and the other red. When they reached Cibola and presented the gourd to the person whom the lord has placed there in charge, he took it into his hand, and, seeing the rattles, with great wrath

May—he met the Indian fugitive. *Relacion*, p. 342: "Y por esta orden, caminé doce dias. . . . Aquí llegó un indio, hijo de un principal de los que venían conmigo, el cual había ido en compañía de Esteban, el negro, y venía aquejado el rostro y cuerpo, cubierto de sudor, el cual mostraba harta tristeza en su persona."

threw the gourd on the floor, and said to the messengers that they should forthwith leave the town, that he knew what kind of people those [the strangers] were, and that they should tell them not to enter the place lest they should all be killed. The messengers returned and reported to Estevan what had happened, who said that this was nothing, — that those who at first displayed anger always received him in the kindest manner. So he continued his road until he reached the city of Cibola, where he met people who refused to allow him to enter, and placed him in a large house outside, taking from him all he carried of objects for exchange, turquoises, and other things received from the Indians on the journey. There he was all night, neither food nor drink being given to him nor to his escort. On the following morning this Indian [the one who was telling the tale] felt thirsty, and went out of the house to get a drink of water at a stream near by, and a short while afterwards he saw Estevan endeavoring to escape, pursued by the people of the city, who were killing some of the people of his company. Seeing this, this Indian concealed himself and crept off stealthily up the said stream, and finally crossed over to take the road through the desert.”¹

The effect of these evil tidings upon the Indians accompanying the monk was such that they refused to go any further. The friar, determined upon proceeding as close as possible to Cibola, then cut the cords of the bales and bundles containing the objects which he carried along for distribution to the natives of Cibola, and distributed the whole of his wares among the terrified natives. In this manner he succeeded in prevailing upon them to go ahead, and as far as “a day’s journey from Cibola.” Here they

¹ *Relacion*, p. 343 *et seq.* I forbear copying the text, as it has been referred to time and again in numerous publications.

encountered two more fugitives, whose bleeding bodies and frightened faces alone told the woful tale of the dangers from which they had escaped. They at once began to weep and lament, and the Indians who were with the Friar joined in the wail. As far as Fray Marcos, who himself was moved to tears by their sorrow, could understand, over three hundred of the Indians from the San Pedro valley had perished at the hands of the people of Cibola. All communication between the Sobaypuris and Cibola, and especially commercial intercourse, was henceforth impossible; even a return to the place hereafter forbidden. It took Fray Marcos a long time to soothe them.¹ At last he obtained from them the following additional information.

"As Estevan arrived within a day's journey of Cibola he sent his messengers to the lord of the place, informing him of his coming, and that he intended to treat for peace with him and cure the sick. When they gave the gourd to the chief, and he saw the rattles, he threw down the gourd angrily, and said, 'I know these people, for these rattles are not of the make of our own. Tell them to return at once, else not one of them shall remain alive.' And the messengers returned to Estevan sorrowfully, hardly venturing to tell him. But at last they informed him of what had happened, and he said to them 'that they should not be afraid, that he would go there, for whenever the Indians, on his previous

¹ *Relacion*, p. 345: "Y yendo por nuestro camino, una jornada de Cibola, topamos otros dos indios, de los que habian ido con Esteban, los cuales venian ensangrentados y con muchas heridas; y como llegaron, ellos y los que venian conmigo comenzaron tanto llanto, que de lastima y temor, tambien á mi me hicieron llorar; y eran tantas las voces, que no me dexaban preguntalles por Esteban, ni lo que les habia subcedido, y roguelles que callasen y supiésemos lo que pasaba y dixerón: que: 'como callarian, pues sabian que de sus padres, hijos y hermanos, eran muertos mas de trescientos hombres, de los que fuéron con Esteban? Y que ya no osarian ir á Cibola como solian.'" The number of the dead is probably exaggerated.

travels, gave him evil words at the outset, it was a sure sign that he would be well received by them.' So he went on, and reached the city of Cibola about sundown, with all the people of his escort, of whom there were about three hundred men and many women. But they refused to let him enter the city, and quartered him in a large and good house outside. Besides, they took away from Estevan all he carried, saying that the chief thus ordained it, and all that night they gave us neither to eat nor to drink. The next day, after the sun had risen to the height of a lance, Estevan went out of the house and some of the principal men of his escort with him. Forthwith there came many people from the city, and as soon as he saw them he fled, and we with him. Then it was that they gave us these wounds with their arrows, and we fell. Others fell on top of us dead, and so we remained until night, afraid to move. We heard a great uproar in the city, and saw on the flat roofs many men and women who were looking; but we saw nothing of Estevan, and believe that he was killed with arrows, like the rest of those who came with him, and that we alone escaped."¹

Turning now to the Zuñi traditions collected by Mr. Cushing, I can only give them in substance, and do not pretend to render them by any means literally.

One of these folk-tales states that, previous to the first coming of the "Mexicans" (the Zuñi Indian calls all the Spanish-speaking people Mexicans), a *black Mexican* made his appearance at the Zuñi village of Kia-ki-ma. He was very greedy, voracious, and bold, and the people killed him for it. After his death, the Mexicans, it is said, made their appearance in numbers for the first time, and made war upon the Zuñis, conquering them in the end.

Another tradition relates that there came to Zuñi a man

¹ *Ibid.* There is no need of quoting this passage in detail.

called "Nu-é," accompanied by two dogs. He rendered himself very obnoxious to the people, particularly through his greed. So the wise men of the high order called "Ka-ka" took him out of the pueblo during the night, and gave him a powerful kick that sped him through the air back to the south, whence he had come.

Both of these traditions locate plainly the killing of the negro at one of the Zuñi villages, the one called Kia-ki-ma, the ruins of which are yet visible on a bluff situated at the southwestern angle of the tall Mesa, or "Thunder Mountain," six miles southeast of the present pueblo of Zuñi. Thus far Zuñi tradition.

In the year following the journey of Fray Marcos, Coronado and his little army reached Cibola. One of the chroniclers of the expedition, Castañeda, who was a soldier in Coronado's command, relates as follows the death of Estevan.

"Estevan arrived at Cibola with a great many turquoises and some handsome women with whom he had been presented along his route. He also had with him a great number of Indians who had been given him for guides at the places where he passed, and who believed that under his protection they might traverse the whole world without having anything to fear. But as the Indians of Cibola are more shrewd than those whom Estevan had with him, they shut him up in a house outside of their village, and there he was interrogated by the old men and the caciques on the object of his coming to the country. After having questioned him for three days, they met together to decide upon his fate. The negro having told the Indians that he was going in advance of two white men sent by a mighty prince, and who were learned in things of heaven which they intended to teach them, these people thought him to be the guide or spy of some nation that wanted to conquer them.

It especially struck them as incredible that he who was black should come from a country of white men. Estevan had asked for their treasures and their women, and it seemed hard to them to consent to give them up; so they agreed upon killing him, which they accomplished without harming in the least those who accompanied him. They only kept a few boys, and sent back all the others, numbering about sixty.”¹

The Captain Juan Jaramillo, an officer of Coronado, only says that Estevan the negro was killed in the first village of Cibola.²

¹ *Cibola*, p. 12: “Estevan arriva á Cibola avec une grande quantité de turquoises, et quelques belles femmes dont on lui avait fait présent le long de la route. Il menait un assez grand nombre d’Indiens qu’on lui avait donnés pour guides dans les endroits où il avait passé, et qui croyaient que sous sa protection ils pouvaient traverser la terre entière sans avoir rien à craindre. Mais comme les Indiens de Cibola ont l’esprit plus ouvert que ceux qu’Estevan emmenait avec lui, ils l’enfermèrent dans une maison hors de leur village; et là il fut interrogé par les vieillards et les caciques sur le but qui l’avait conduit dans leur pays. Après l’avoir questionné pendant trois jours, ils se rassemblèrent pour décider de son sort. Comme le nègre avait dit aux Indiens qu’il précédait deux hommes blancs envoyés par un puissant prince, et très-savants dans les choses du ciel qu’ils venaient leur enseigner, ces gens pensèrent qu’il devait être le guide ou l’espion de quelque nation que voulait les subjuguier. Il leur parut surtout incroyable qu’il fut du pays des hommes blancs, lui qui était noir. Estevan leur avait demandé leurs richesses et leurs femmes, et il leur semblait dur d’y consentir. Ils se décidèrent donc à le tuer, ce qu’ils firent sans faire le moindre mal à ceux qui l’accompagnaient. Ils prirent seulement quelques jeunes garçons, et renvoyèrent tous les autres, qui étaient au nombre d’environ soixante.”

It may not be out of place here to state that the birthplace of the negro Estevan was Azamor, the Asimur of to-day, on the coast of Morocco. It lies at the mouth of the river Morbeya, the Asama of the Romans. The Moors call it also Muley bu Xaïb. In 1513 it was taken by the Portuguese, who occupied it until 1540, when Sultan Mohammed reconquered it. See *Descripcion Historica de Marruecos y breve Reseña de sus Dinastias*, by Fray Manuel P Castellanos, 1884, part i. chapter ix. pp. 118-124.

² *Relacion hecha por el Capitan Juan Jaramillo, de la Entrada que habia hecho a la Tierra Nueva en Nueva España, y al Descubrimiento de Cibola, yendo por General Francisco Vazquez Coronado* (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. xiv. p. 308): “Y aqui mataron a Estebanillo negro, que habia venido con Dorantes, de la Florida,

Previous to the departure of Coronado's expedition, and after the return of Fray Marcos to Mexico, the Viceroy sent the Captain Melchior Diaz to the north to investigate the truth of Fray Marcos's report. Diaz could not reach Cibola, but he gathered much information along the route. He says, "Estevan the negro died in the manner in which Fray Marcos has related it to your lordship; therefore I make no mention of it here."¹

Simultaneously with Coronado's expedition by land, the Viceroy sent a flotilla to the Californian Gulf under the command of Hernando de Alarcon. This squadron was ordered to keep as much as possible in communication with the land forces, and at the same time to gather information relative to Cibola whenever and wherever it was possible. The first part of the programme became unrealizable through the force of circumstances, but the second was faithfully carried out. Alarcon anchored off the mouth of the great Colorado River, and thence ascended that river in boats. The Cocopas, who inhabited the banks near the mouth, knew nothing of Cibola; but higher up (probably among the Mojaves) he met an old Indian who had been at Cibola. This Indian gave Alarcon quite a fair description of the architecture, dress, mode of life, etc., of the Pueblo Indians. In one of the conversations Alarcon ordered some food placed before his guest, and when the victuals were brought in on plates or dishes, the Indian remarked that the chief of Cevola had similar ones, but that they were green, and that he was the only one who owned such. He had four of them, which a black man with beard had given to him, along with a dog and other objects;

y volvía con Fray Marcos de Niza." Castañeda makes no direct mention of the locality, but it is plain that he labors under the same impression.

¹ Antonio de Mendoza, *Deuxième Lettre à l'Empereur Charles V.*, p. 296: "Estevan, le nègre, est mort de la manière que le père Marcos l'a conté à votre seigneurie, c'est pour cela que je n'en parle point ici."

that he did not know whence that black man had come, but had been informed that the chief of Cevola caused him to be killed. Previously the Indian incidentally remarked that the chief of Cevola was in possession of a dog similar to the one owned by Alarcon.¹

Eager to follow the trail thus opened before him, Alarcon kept the old Indian in his company, questioning him repeatedly and cautiously. According to his statements, Cibola was about thirty days' march from that portion of the course of the Colorado River (in the neighborhood of the Colorado valley). To quote Alarcon's own language, "I asked him if the inhabitants of that country had ever seen people similar to us. He answered, No, excepting one negro, who wore on his feet and arms something that sounded. Your lordship will recollect that the negro who accompanied Fray Marcos had rattles, bells, and plumes on his arms and legs; that he carried with him plates of different colors, and that he went thither a year ago. I desired to know why he had been killed. He said to me, The chief of Cevola having asked him if he had brothers, the negro replied that he had an infinite number of them; that they carried many weapons, and were not far away now. On this report a great number of chiefs had gathered in council and determined upon killing the negro in order that he might not inform his brethren about the country where the people of Cevola lived, and that

¹ *Relation de la Navigation et de la Découverte faite par le Capitaine Fernando Alarcon* (in *Cibola*, Appendix, p. 326): "Il me dit que le chef de ce pays avait un chien semblable à celui que j'emmenais avec moi. Ayant temoigné le désir de manger, cet homme vit porter et rapporter des plats. Il dit que le chef de Cevola en avait de semblables, mais qu'ils étaient verts, et que ce chef était le seul qui en possédât, qu'il en avait quatre, et qu'un homme noir, portant de la barbe les lui avait donnés avec ce chien et d'autres objets; qu'il ignorait par où cet homme noir était arrivé, et qu'on lui avait dit que le chef de Cevola l'avait fait tuer." This is also stated by Herrera, *Historia General*, Dec. vi. lib. ix. cap. xv.

was the cause of his killing. They cut his body into many pieces, which were distributed among the chiefs to satisfy them of his death. He added, that the negro had a dog similar to mine, but that the chief of Cevola caused it to be put to death some time after." I will add here, that soon after this conversation Alarcon learned, through Indians, of the arrival of Coronado and his troop at Cibola.¹

These are, as far as I can gather, the most authentic statements as to the fate of Estevan at present obtainable. Of all this material, the statements of Fray Marcos and the Zuñi traditions have, in my opinion, the greatest weight. The former transmits the reports of eyewitnesses of the catastrophe. The Indians have preserved the recollections of their forefathers, and although indistinct and nebulous, like all folk-lore, they establish one fact: that Estevan the negro was killed in one of the former villages of the Zuñi tribe. As to the manner in which, and the reason why, he was killed, only the report of Fray Marcos tells us that the very implement or charm upon which Estevan most relied—his gourd or rattle—provoked the ire of the Zuñis at the first, and that afterwards his death was probably hastened by precipitate flight. The number of those who accompanied him was very likely exaggerated to the friar by the Sobaypuris themselves; but that a massacre of these also took place seems to me beyond all doubt. What Castañeda reports was gathered a year after the catastrophe, and written down by him a quarter of a century later.² Besides, it is colored by the sour disposition of a malcontent. Coupling the reports of Fray Marcos with the information secured by Alarcon, it seems that Estevan was over confident and rash;

¹ *Relation de la Navigation et de la Découverte*, p. 331. Herrera, *Historia*, *ut supra*.

² In his dedication of *Cibola*, pp. 97, 98, he says, "Comme il y a plus de vingt ans que cette expédition s'est faite."

that he placed too great reliance upon the success which Cabeza de Vaca, and himself in his company, had enjoyed on their previous journey, and possibly irritated the Zuñis by presenting a token that, in their eyes, represented the opposite of "good medicine." That his death was determined upon at once is very likely, and the explanation given by the old Indian to Alarcon is the most rational. Once imprisoned, as he virtually was, any attempt to flee could have no result except safety in case of success, death in case of failure. The negro had been overbearing and highly incautious — impudent probably — at the outset; after the crisis came, he fell into the other extreme, that of heedless precipitation. The Zuñis might have spared him had he acted with dignity, instead of with uncalled for arrogance first, with pusillanimity at the last.

At all events, Fray Marcos saw clearly that it would be impossible for him to enter Cibola after these occurrences. He was sure to lose his life in the attempt, and then, as he very reasonably remarks, "the knowledge of the country would be lost." We must always bear in mind the instructions given to him by the Viceroy, and under which he had pledged himself to act. These instructions made of him an emissary, an explorer and investigator, not a missionary. Death under these circumstances could not even secure for him the much coveted title of "martyr." The main object of his trip was attained. Notwithstanding the killing of the negro, he had found the Seven Cities and the way thither. Still he was not satisfied; he craved yet to be able to report about the much coveted land *de visu* if possible.

His Indians were unwilling to accompany him. They not only resisted his entreaties, but threatened his life, in atonement for the lives of their relatives slaughtered at Cibola. He pleaded and remonstrated, but they remained stubborn.

At last two of their number — “principal men,” he says — consented to lead him to a place whence he could see Cibola from afar. “With them and with my Indians and interpreters I followed my road till we came in sight of Cibola, which lies in a plain on the slope of a round height. Its appearance is very good for a settlement, — the handsomest I have seen in these parts. The houses are, as the Indians had told me, all of stone, with their stories and flat roofs. As far as I could see from a height where I placed myself to observe, the settlement is larger than the city of Mexico. I was sometimes tempted to go thither, knowing that I did not risk more than my life, and that life I had already offered to God on the day when I began the journey. But finally I feared, considering the danger, and that if I should die there would be no knowledge of this land which, in my estimation, is the largest and best of all yet discovered.”¹ Here, again, in sight of Cibola, his Indian guides reiterated the statement that the village now in view was the smallest one of the seven, and that Totonteac was much more important than the so called Seven Cities. After taking possession of Cibola, Totonteac, Acus, and Marata for the Spanish crown, raising a stone heap, and placing a wooden cross on top of it with the aid of the natives, and naming the new land the “New Kingdom of Saint Francis,” the friar turned back, “with much more fright than food,” as he very dryly but truthfully remarks.²

¹ *Relacion*, p. 347: “Con los cuales y con mis indios y lenguas, seguí mi camino hasta la vista de Cibola, la cual está sentada en un llano, á la falda de un cerro redondo. Tiene muy hermoso parescer de pueblo, el mejor que en estas partes yo hé visto: son las casas por la manera que los indios me dixerón, todas de piedra con sobrados y azuteas, á lo que me pareció desde un cerro donde me puse á vella. La poblacion es mayor que la cibdad de México; algunas veces fui tentado de irme á ella, porque sabia que no aventuraba sino la vida, y ésta ofrescí á Dios el dia que comencé la jornada; al cabo temí, considerando mi peligro y que si yo moria, no se podría haber razon desta tierra, que á mi ver es la mayor y mejor de todas las descubiertas.”

² *Ibid.*, p. 348: “Y así me volví, con harto mas temor que comida, y an-

It appears that the people of Cibola, after the killing of the negro, did not make any attempts to follow the fugitives. This may account for Castañeda's version of the event. Therefore the monk was enabled to execute his bold exploration to the vicinity of Cibola, and his return to the disconsolate Sobaypuri survivors without interference. After two days of hasty flight, he overtook his Indians, and all together crossed the Apache reservation again. But his reception in the valley of the San Pedro River was quite different from the one which he had experienced in going, for "the men as well as the women displayed great sorrow at the loss of their people at Cibola. So with fear I took leave of them at once, and marched the first day ten leagues, and then eight and ten leagues daily, without stopping, until I had crossed the second desert stretch."¹ It was after his return to the valley of the Sonora River that he bethought himself of the tale about the valley situated within the mountains, of which he heard while on the Gulf Coast, and he resolved now to visit it. He saw "from the opening of the valley seven fair-looking settlements in the distance. The valley appeared to be pleasant and of good soil. Considerable smoke was rising from the settlements. I was told that there is much gold there and jewels, some of which are worn in the ears, while of others they make little scrapers for the perspiration of their bodies. The people do not allow anybody from this side of the opening to trade with them. Nobody could tell me the

duve, hasta topar la gente que se me habia quedado, todo lo mas apriesa que pude; los cuales alcancé á dos dias de jornada, y con ellos vine hasta pasar el despoblado."

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 349. We are led to infer from the stress he places on the length of the journeys performed by him now, when he manifestly hurried, that eight to ten leagues (twenty-three to twenty-seven miles) were unusually long marches in his estimation, and consequently that he moved less rapidly while going towards Cibola. This has its bearing on the distances, therefore on the identification of the places also.

reason why. Here I placed two crosses, and took possession of the entrance and of the valley."¹

From this point he continued his return with all possible haste. At Culiacan he failed to meet Coronado, who was at Compostela. From the latter place he announced his return by letters addressed to the Viceroy and to the Provincial, Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo. On the second day of September (old style) Fray Marcos appeared—in company with the Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, and one "Oydor" of the Royal Audiencia, at the city of Mexico—before the notary of that Audiencia, Juan Baeza de Herrera, and the royal notary, Antonio de Turcios, and made solemn oath to the truth of the report which has formed the basis of this paper. He says at the close of the report: "There are many unimportant details which I do not set down here. I only relate what I saw and what I have been told in the countries which I have travelled through, and what I learned concerning those of which I heard."²

It follows from the above given date, that Fray Marcos returned to the city of Mexico previous to the thirteenth (new style) day of September, 1539.³

Among the many calumnies heaped upon Fray Marcos of Nizza there is one which I must refute before I enter into a discussion of the results of his journey. It has for its author

¹ *Ibid.* Ternaux-Compans in his translation either corrupts the text, or else the Italian version in Ramusio has corrupted it; for he says: "Sept villages de grandeur raisonnable et assez éloignés; une *belle vallée très fraîche, et une jolie ville d'où s'élevait beaucoup de fumée.*" (p. 281.) Not a word is said in the *Relacion* of the "town." The text reads: "Siete poblazones razonables, algo lexos, un *valle abaxo muy fresco y de muy buena tierra, de donde salian muchos humos.*" The Italics are mine. I have not Ramusio at my disposal now.

² *Legalizacion* (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. iii. p. 351).

³ *Ibid.*

a private soldier of Coronado's army, the chronicler Pedro de Castañeda. Castañeda positively affirms that the Friar remained on the south side of the last "desert," sixty leagues (162 miles) south of Cibola, and that he did not approach the place any nearer, still less saw it himself. Castañeda charges the monk with cowardice, in addition to mendacity.¹

Should the assertion of Castañeda be true, then Fray Marcos of Nizza deserves no credit whatever; for an explorer capable of deliberately lying on such an important point as that of seeing with his own eyes the ultimate point of destination of a long and perilous journey, is truly an impostor. But aside from the evidences furnished by his correct description of the route, the description of the view which he had of Cibola proves that he really was near enough to the place to see it as he describes it.

The Indian tradition of the Zuñis states that the negro was killed at the village of Kiakima. There can be no connection between the relation of Fray Marcos and that Indian folk-tale. The Indians cannot have tampered with the writings of the monk, nor can the monk have taught the Indians a story preserved through the usual routine of their esoteric clusters. If, therefore, his description of the place where the negro was killed is as that village appeared when seen from the direction from which he claims to have approached it,—that is, if the landscape, as portrayed by him, is sufficiently accurate,—he cannot have invented the scenery. Details of architecture can be reported from hearsay with

¹ *Cibola*, p. 13: "Ceux-ci regagnèrent leur pays en fugitifs, et rencontrèrent les trois moines dans le désert, à soixante lieues de Cibola. En apprenant la nouvelle de la mort d'Estevan, ces religieux furent si effrayés, que, ne se fiant pas-même aux Indiens qui avaient accompagnés le nègre, ils ouvrirent leurs coffres et leur partagèrent tout ce qu'ils avaient, à l'exception des ornements qui servaient à célébrer la messe; puis ils s'en retournèrent en doublant leurs journées de route, sans avoir appris autre chose du pays que ce que les Indiens leur avaient raconté."

reasonable accuracy; but the correctness of a landscape picture in words is a matter of personal experience and feelings. Only what one has *seen* stamps itself upon the memory in a manner sufficiently accurate to appear true even centuries afterwards.

The ruins of Kiakima lie in a niche of the southwestern corner of the huge mesa, called To-yo-a-lana, or Thunder Mountain, that skirts the Zuñi plain on the east side. Its foundation or base is a hill of natural débris about eighty feet high, and a little brook flows near the bottom of the hill; west of it stretches the Zuñi plain, bleak and red. Fray Marcos says the town lies in a plain on the slope of a round height. M. Ternaux-Compans has translated the word "cerro" by *hill*.¹ But "cerro" means a steep and isolated elevation in general, irrespective of its altitude. Even the gigantic volcano of Popocatepetl is often designated as a "cerro." Seen from the southwest, where wooded ridges skirt and border the Zuñi plain, Kiakima indeed appears as being on the slope of a "round" cerro; for Thunder Mountain there appears in its southern width, not at its full length. The description, brief as it is, could not be more characteristic, and the monk must have actually seen what he describes. No other Zuñi village could have presented such an appearance. We see that the Indian tradition corroborates the statements of the Franciscan, and that the latter is also supported by the evidence of topography. Moreover, Kiakima was an inhabited pueblo until after the uprising of 1680; and Thunder Mountain, on the sides of which it is built, is more than once referred to in older manuscripts as "the rock of Kiakima."²

¹ "Elle est bâtie dans une plaine sur le penchant d'une colline de forme ronde."

² Already, in 1635, the "Peñol de caquimay" is mentioned in the *Autos sobre restablecer las Misiones de Zuñi* (MS.). Again, in the *Peticion del Cabildo de Santa Fé á Don Antonio de Otermin* (MS.), of October 3, 1680, in the collection

True it is that the description given by Castañeda of the pueblo which Coronado took by storm in 1540, and of which Jaramillo says that in it the negro had been killed, does not agree with that of the friar. The chronicler of Coronado speaks of it as built on a rock.¹ But, as I shall prove in the historical sketch of Coronado's expedition, that village was not Kiakima, but Hauicu, fifteen miles to the southwest of the former; and Jaramillo, who wrote his report from memory many years after the events, made the mistake.² When a local Indian tradition is as positive as it is in the present instance, it usually deserves full credit. The assertion of Castañeda is therefore unfounded, and the charge of mendacity might rather be made against him.

In regard to the charge of cowardice, I have already, I trust, disposed of it. Fray Marcos displayed no lack of courage in refraining from an attempt to penetrate to the village. On the contrary, he acted with commendable judiciousness and in strict obedience to his instructions. By satisfying himself of the appearance of the country and place, he had done his full duty under the circumstances. To go a step further would have been foolhardy, and destructive to the ends and aims of his mission. We should always bear in mind that he was sent as an explorer, and not as a missionary. As the latter, it might have become his duty to sacrifice his life, as many of his brethren deliberately have

of documents on Otermin's retreat to El Paso: "Como fue los Zuñis en el peñol de Caquima." Also, *Relacion Anonima de la Reconquista* (MS.). Kiakima is first mentioned in 1598 as one of the inhabited Zuñi pueblos in *Obediencia y Vasallaje a su Magestad por los Indios de la Provincia de Aguscobi* (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. xvi. p. 133), under the misspelling of "Coaqueria." Vetancurt mentions it in *Cronica*, p. 320, as being inhabited in 1680. In 1782 Fray Augustin Morfi speaks of it as abandoned, *Descripcion Geografica* (MS.). See further on.

¹ *Cibola*, p. 42: "Cibola est construit sur un rocher."

² *Relacion Hecha*, p. 307: "Y esto digo por haber tanto tiempo que aquello pasamos, que podria ser engañarme en alguna jornada, que en lo demas no."

done; as the former, his personal safety was indispensable. Upon his safe return depended the future of Spanish colonization in the North American Southwest.

I have already, in the course of this investigation, adduced evidence to show that Cibola was the Zuñi country of New Mexico. I shall now present further proof, which I hope will appear conclusive. It is derived from documentary sources of undoubted authenticity, although subsequent to the date of the journey of Fray Marcos.

Before quoting the remarks of Melchior Diaz, who is the first authority in point of date, I must notice here a slur cast upon Fray Marcos by an anonymous author who reported on the campaign of Coronado in 1541, and who was manifestly a member of the army commanded by Coronado, since his "*Relacion del Suceso de la Jornada*" was written in New Mexico. He accuses the friar of being in error in applying the name Cibola to a tribe, whereas it was properly but the name of a range.¹ On the contrary, the monk had perfectly well understood the Indians, who spoke of Cibola as a "province," and this is a further evidence of the origin of the word. I am convinced, from what Mr. Cushing has told me, that the origin of Cibola is "Shi-uo-na," the name of the range claimed by the whole Zuñi tribe, ancient and modern; and the conception of Cibola as given by Fray Marcos strongly confirms this idea.

Melchior Diaz in his report confirms what the monk states about Cibola, except that he says there were not quite as many turquoises as Fray Marcos had been told. He adds, "They [the people of Cibola] eat salt, which they gather from

¹ *Relacion del Suceso*, p. 319: "El padre Fray Marcos habia entendido o dio a entender que el circuito o comarca en que estan siete pueblos, era un solo pueblo que llamaba el, Cibola, e toda esta poblazon e comarca Cibola." Taking "pueblo" in its original sense of "populus," Fray Marcos was perfectly right, for the name Shi-uo-na is sometimes applied to the whole tribe.

a lake situated two days' march from Civola."¹ These are the salt marshes south of Zuñi, and their distance from the Zuñi region is quite accurately indicated by Diaz. The same author also states, "After crossing the big desert, seven towns are found, distant from each other about one day's march; all together are called Civola."² Here, again, we have a confirmation of the fact that Civola was the name of a tribal range, as Shiuona is to-day.

Next comes the well known Castañeda, and the indications found in his chronicle to the effect that Cibola is Zuñi are numerous. First, he states that the principal village of the Cibola group is called "Maçaque."³ Maçaque reappears in 1598 as "Macaqui"⁴ in the imperfect orthography of the period. In 1680 it is mentioned as "Mazaquia," and as a hamlet dependent upon the mission of Alona,⁵ on the site of

¹ Mendoza, *Deuxième Lettre*, p. 295: "Ils mangent du sel qu'ils retirent d'un lac situé à deux journées de marche de la province de Civola." This salt lake (well known) is again mentioned by Villagran, *Historia de la Nueva Mexico*, 1610, canto xviii. fol. 164:—

"Y luego al Capitan Farfan mandaron
Que fuesse a descubrir ciertas salinas
De que grande noticia se tenia,
Y poniendo por obra aquel mandado,
Con presta diligencia y buen cuidado,
En brebe dio la buelta, y dixo dellas
Que eran tan caudalosas y tan grandes,
Que por espacio de vna legua larga
Mostraua toda aquella sal de grueso,
Vna muy larga pica bien tendida."

² *Deuxième Lettre*, p. 293: "Quand on a passé le grand désert, on trouve sept villes, éloignées d'environ une journée de marche les unes des autres; toutes réunies ensemble se nomment Civola."

³ This is in the original manuscript, which I was permitted to consult at the Lenox Library of New York. Ternaux-Compans has "Muzaque," *Cibola*, p. 163.

⁴ *Obediencia y Vassallaje de Aguscobi*, p. 133.

⁵ Vetancurt, *Cronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico*, p. 320: "Con dos aldéas de visita, que cada cual tenia su pequeña iglesia llamadas Mazaquia, en la entrada de la provincia de Zuñi, y de Moqui, y Caquima, dos leguas de Alona." The distance is somewhat exaggerated.

which the present pueblo of Halona or Zuñi is built. The ruins of Ma-tza-ki lie three miles east of Zuñi, at the end of the plain, and on the southern banks of the Zuñi River, at the northwestern corner of the great Mesa.

The same author asserts, in his enumeration of all the New Mexican pueblos visited by Coronado's expedition, "Cibola is the first province."¹ In another place he speaks of the "Rock of Acuco" as situated five days' march east of Cibola.² It is needless to prove that Acuco is Acoma, called "Ha-ku-kue" in the Zuñi language. From Zuñi to Acoma the distance in a straight line amounts to only about seventy-five miles; but the trails are very rough, especially for horses, and often circuitous. Hernando de Alvarado and his twenty men occupied five days in making the trip. The description that Alvarado left of the route, moreover, agrees so perfectly with the country through which runs that ancient and formerly much used trail, and with the ruins scattered alongside it, that there cannot be the slightest doubt about the identity both of Cibola with Zuñi and of Acuco with Acoma.³

¹ *Cibola*, p. 181.

² *Ibid.*, p. 69: "Cinq jours après ils arrivèrent à un village nommé Acuco, qui est construit sur un rocher."

³ *Relacion de lo que Hernando de Alvarado y Fray Joan de Padilla Descubrieron en demanda de la Mar del Sur* (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. iii. p. 510): "Partimos de Granada [the name given to Hauicu] veinte y nueve de Agosto de 40; la via de Coco [Acuco]; y andadas dos leguas, dimos en un edificio antiguo como fortaleza, y una legua adelante hallamos otro, y poco mas adelante otro, y adelante destes hallamos una ciudad antigua, harto grande, toda destruida, aunque mucha parte de la muralla estaba enhiesta, la cual tenia seis estados en alto, el muro bien labrado de buena piedra labrada, de sus puertas y alvañares como una ciudad de Castilla. Media legua adelante desta obra de una legua, hallamos otra ciudad destruida, la cerca de la cual debia ser muy buena, hasta de un estado, de piedras berroqueñas muy grandes, hasta un estado, y de alli arriba de muy buena piedra de canteria." Such ruins are indeed met with near the old trail leading from Hauicu to Acoma,—a trail which was much used in ancient times, and of which traces are still distinctly visible. It led as far as Cia on the Jemez River, and portions of it are visible to-day between

Seven days northwest of Cibola lay the cluster of seven pueblos which the chroniclers of Coronado (above all, Castañeda) call Tusayan.¹ Usaya, Usayan, are names given anciently by the Zuñis to the principal pueblos of Moqui. There are other evidences to prove that Tusayan was indeed the Moqui group of villages. This being so, Cibola lay seven days' journey to the southeast of Moqui; that is, exactly where Zuñi lies in relation to the Moqui villages.

It is not surprising, therefore, if, in 1582 and 1583, Antonio de Espejo positively declares that Zuñi is also called Cibola. He found there three Indians from Mexico who had remained behind at the time when Coronado evacuated New Mexico. We know, indeed, that Coronado had to leave several of his Mexican Indians at Cibola.²

the line of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad and the Rio Puerco. Alvarado also says about this trail, "Aqui se apartan dos caminos, uno para Chia y otro para Coco; tomamos este."

¹ *Cibola*, p. 165: "A vingt lieues vers le nord-ouest, est une autre province qui contient sept villages; les habitants portent le même costume, ont les mêmes mœurs et la même religion que ceux de Cibola." Comparing this with what he says of Tusayan on page 58 *et seq.*, there remains no doubt of the fact that he means Tusayan in the passage first quoted. In addition, there is the statement of Jaramillo, who places Tusayan to the northeast (*Relacion Hecha*, p. 308), and of the *Relacion del Suceso*, p. 320, which places it "al Poniente" thirty or thirty-five leagues.

² There are three versions. Two of them are authentic copies of Espejo's report. Both of the latter are contained in vol. xv. of the *Documentos de Indias*. One bears the title of *Relacion del Viage, que yo; Antonio Espejo, Ciudadano de la Ciudad de Mexico; Natural de la Ciudad de Cordoba, hize con catorce Soldados y un Relijioso de la Orden de San Francisco; a las Provincias y Poblaciones de la Nueva Mexico, a quien puse por Nombre, la Nueva Andalucia, a Contemplacion de mi Patria, en fin del Año de Mil e Quinientos e Ochenta e Dos*. He says (p. 117): "Fuimos caminando cuatro jornadas, veinte y cuatro leguas hacia el Poniente, donde hallamos al cabo dellas, una provincia que son seis pueblos, y le llaman Amé, y por otro nombre Cibola, . . . donde supimos, haber estado Francisco Vazquez Coronado y algunos capitanes de los que llevo consigo; y en esta provincia, hallamos puestos junto a los pueblos, cruces, y aqui hallamos tres indios cristianos, que se dijeron llamar Andres de Cuyuacan y Gaspar de Mexico Anton de Guadalajara, que dijeron entraron con el dicho Gobernador Francisco Vazquez Coronado," etc. Further on Espejo refers to "Aquico" as

Lastly, in 1626, Fray Geronimo de Zarate Salmeron, in his narrative of the expedition of Juan de Oñate to the Californian Gulf in 1604 and 1605, mentions positively Hauicu (one of the Zuñi villages) as the Civola of Fray Marcos and of Coronado.¹

Other proofs might be added, but they will appear in the course of this and the following sections of the work. I believe myself to have proved the identity of Cibola with the Zuñi country. It remains now to see which of the seven pueblos of the Zuñis were the "Seven Cities" of Cibola.²

Six of them were still inhabited in 1598. They were, beginning in the southwest, Hauicu, or Ojo Caliente, at the Zuñi Hot Springs; Chyanahue, two miles southeast from it; Kiakima and Matzaki, whose situation I have already given; Halona, on the site of the present Zuñi pueblo; and Pin-a-ua, somewhat less than two miles from the latter to the west. The seventh town of Cibola I am as yet unable to locate.³ These were the settlements whose fame had spread as far south as the heart of Sonora, and the size and appearance of which the Indians of this latter region, themselves dwelling in

one of the villages of Cibola. The name "Amé" is a misprint; for in the other version, *Copia de la Carta que Escribio Antonio de Espejo*, p. 180, he says plainly, "Zuni, y por otro nombre Cibola." The distorted and corrupted version contained in Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, vol. iii., has: "Veynte y quatro leguas de aqui, hazia el poniente, dieron con vna prouincia, que se nombra en lengua de los naturales Zuny, y la llaman los Espannoles Cibola."

¹ *Relacion de Todas las Cosas*, MS., paragraph 44: "El Pueblo mayor, y Caveza de todos es el Pueblo de Civola que en su lengua se llama havico."

² Three of them are identified from the data on hand in 1540: Kiakima, through tradition and the description of Fray Marcos; Hauicu, or Ahacus, and Matzaki, through Castañeda.

³ *Obediencia y Vasallaje de Aguscobi*, p. 133. We easily recognize in "Aguscobi" Hauicu; in Canabi, Chyanahue (about three miles east of Hauicu, with a quite fairly preserved chapel); in Coaqueria, Kiakima; in "Halonagu," Halona-kue, or Halona; in Macaqui, Matzaki. Aquinsa remains, and Mr. Cushing is doubtful whether it was Pinaua or Kua-kyi-na. As for the seventh, it might be Ketchipauan, near Hauicu, but there is no certainty.

small houses or huts of wood or sod, beheld with such amazement, and described to the friar in such glowing colors.

But he himself affirms that Cibola or Kiakima appeared to be larger than the city of Mexico. From the remains still extant, I should judge that the population of Kiakima did not exceed one thousand souls. How many people did the young city of Mexico, founded as a Spanish town in 1524, contain fifteen years after its foundation? Hardly one thousand!¹ We must remember that the Indian pueblo was destroyed and razed during the memorable siege of 1521; that only the Spanish buildings presented a striking appearance;² and on the other hand, that a New Mexican Indian village, with its terraced stories, always appears at a distance much larger than it is in reality. Fray Marcos's impression, therefore, that Kiakima was more important than Mexico, is easily accounted for, and implies not the least wilful exaggeration on his part. In this, again, as in every other matter where he testifies as ocular witness, his personal sincerity admits of no doubt.

As far as the details concerning architecture, dress, ornaments, and customs of the people of Cibola are concerned, they are communicated by the friar only from hearsay. Like the descriptions of the size of the villages, they contain exaggerations. I must state, however, that such exaggerations are common with the Indian. He has seldom a real conception of numerical proportions, and therefore uses comparatives, which the most candid investigator, if he has not acquired long practice among the natives, is liable to take for absolute statements. I was often informed by Indian friends

¹ Compare on that point my article in the "Magazine of Western History," *The Discovery of New Mexico by Fray Marcos of Nizza*, p. 669. I add, that in 1556 Robert Thomson stated that Mexico had not over fifteen hundred Spanish households. Hakluyt's *Voiages*, vol. iii. p. 539.

² Cervantes-Salazar, *México en 1554*, p. 137.

that the pueblo of Acoma was the largest in New Mexico, that it was exceedingly large; and that Taos was a very important pueblo in size; whereas Acoma has only six hundred inhabitants, and Taos four hundred. With the Indians the general effect is the main criterion. Still, the descriptions of the Pueblo type of architecture given by the Opatas and the Sobaypuris to Fray Marcos are in the main correct. Even the fact that the lintels and door-sills were incrustated with turquoises is substantially true, only that the green stones were set in the wooden frames of the hatchways, as the first floor had no entrances on the ground. But Fray Marcos was unable to discriminate between the two forms. To him an entrance into a building or room was a doorway, as he had never seen anything else. That turquoises were always abundant among the Pueblos is well known. They are so to-day.

I need not refer again in detail to the matter of the "cloth of Totontec"; but I note that Melchior Diaz gathered (on his trip north, of which I shall treat in a subsequent monograph) information on this point fully confirming that obtained by Fray Marcos.¹

Cibola being identified with Zuñi, or rather with the Zuñi country, the question arises, What were Ahacus, Acus, Marata, and Totontec? Were they real or mythical regions, existing tribes and places, or the creations of misunderstanding or imagination? On this question the linguistic and ethnological investigations of Mr. Cushing have shed a sudden and important light.

Acus is Acoma. The Zuñis call that pueblo Ha-ku, or Ha-ku-kue; the Navajos call it Ha-kus. The Acomas themselves name their village A-ko; the tribe, Ako-ma.

¹ Mendoza, *Deuxième Lettre*, p. 294: "Ils élèvent dans leurs maisons des animaux velus, grands comme des chiens d'Espagne. Ils les tondent, ils en font des perruques de couleurs, semblables à celle que j'ai envoyée à votre seigneurie. Ils en fabriquent aussi des étoffes."

Ahacus, which Fray Marcos distinguishes from Acus by saying that the *h* is aspirated, and that Ahacus is one of the villages of Cibola, whereas Acus is an independent cluster or tribe, is Hauicu, the village near the Zuñi Hot Springs, in ruins since 1672.¹

Marata is Ma-tya-ta, or Mak-ya-ta. Here we strike an interesting fact,—a fragment of Zuñi history from a time earlier than the coming of Europeans. Matyata, or Makyata, is the name given by the Zuñis to a cluster of now ruined pueblos which they declare to have been occupied by a branch of their own people. After long dissensions and even warfare with the inhabitants of the Zuñi basin, those of Matyata were compelled to submit, and to join the former in their settlements. The group of ruins called Matyata, or Makyata, lies southeast of Zuñi on the trail leading to Acoma; and the condition of the ruins (described by Alvarado in 1540) shows that their abandonment is more recent than that of other ancient pueblos in that region.²

The Zuñi Indian whom Fray Marcos met among the Sobaypuris of San Pedro informed the monk that the "Maratas" were still warring with the Zuñis, and holding their own. But from 1540 no further mention is made of the place or tribe. Coronado would surely have taken notice of it had it still been in existence and the villages inhabited. It seems therefore that Fray Marcos was informed of an occurrence then recently past, but well authenticated,—of a war which had been brought to a conclusion but a few years previous, perhaps, to his coming, and which his informant, having remained without communication with Zuñi for some time, believed to be still in progress.

¹ It was surprised and sacked by the Navajos. Compare Vetancurt, *Crónica*, p. 321, and *Menologio*, p. 347. His date, 1670, is wrong. It should be 1672, as may be shown from manuscripts in my possession.

² Even at the present day the ruins are in quite a good state of preservation.

Totonteac, according to Mr. Cushing, is a name given to a cluster of ancient pueblos formerly belonging to the Moquis, but already abandoned in the first half of the sixteenth century. There were twelve of them, — exactly the number given to Fray Marcos by his informants. The proper name seems to have been Top-in-te-ua. It may be regarded as an ancient (now disused) Zuñi name for their neighbors, the Moquis, in the same manner as Tusayan.

With Cibola thus definitely located, the whole route of Fray Marcos becomes very plain and clear. Whether we now undertake to follow his advance or his line of retreat, the principal stations remain the same. After the start from Culiacan, Matape or Vacapa in Central Sonora proves to have been the first station, — whether reached from the mouth of the Yaquis, as I incline to believe, or from the Guaymas. Passing onward, we are led into the valley of the Sonora River, and, crossing the waste on the borders of Arizona, into the valley of the Rio San Pedro. This is the last region inhabited by village Indians before Zuñi is reached, to accomplish which we must first pass through the wilderness or "desert" of the White Mountain Apache reservation. The Apaches themselves the friar did not see, although they were there, as was subsequently ascertained; and this is accounted for by the numerous escort of Indians which accompanied both him and the negro Estevan.

Going backwards, he followed the same route; and counting backwards, we arrive at the same points. The rule working equally well both ways, it must be true.

Through the regrettable fact that the other report of Fray Marcos is still missing, we are of course deprived of much positive and valuable ethnographic material which he has not given in his "Personal Narrative," as it may be called. Still, the ethnography of the countries which he has traversed and

of which he has heard becomes dimly outlined. We first meet the tribes on the Petatlan River, — the Guasaves, and Vacoregues or Ahomes.¹ Beyond, we find ourselves with the two groups of Cahitas, the Mayos and the Yaquis. Still farther along the sea-coast, it is possible he may have visited the Guaymas. At all events, he saw the Seris. Once inland, the Eudeves of Matape afford him hospitality, and from them we reach the Opatas of the Sonora valley. In Arizona we meet the Sobaypuris. Of the so called Pueblo Indians we become acquainted with the sites and ranges of the A-shi-ui or Zuñis, of the Moquis, and as far east into New Mexico as the Queres of Acoma. The sketch is plain, and the lines are well connected. It shows the ethnography in the earliest times of discovery to have been substantially the same as to-day, and is a frame which the remarkable information left us by the members of the expedition of Coronado has well filled out and still further extended.

There is but one point which seems to lie outside of this ethnographic frame. This is the valley which Fray Marcos went to see upon his return, and where, as he had been informed, the inhabitants possessed and used metallic objects. I have already explained in what manner the monk may have been misled into the belief of the use of gold by some Sonoran tribe, whereas it is abundantly proved that none of them had any conception of the value of metallic substances. As Fray Marcos gives no data to indicate from what point he turned aside to visit that valley, but says that it lay on the western spurs of the Sierra Madre of Sonora, I can only surmise that it may have been some interior basin held by a branch of the Nebomes or Southern Pimas, who were the most cultured tribes of Sonora. In this case we might

¹ Orozco y Berra, *Geografía de las Lenguas y Carta Etnográfica de México*. See the map, and pages 326-328.

add the Nebomes to the Indian tribes of whom he has secured information on his journey.

Ethnologically, the amount of information imparted in the report is quite considerable. Much of it, however, especially in regard to the New Mexican and Northern Arizona village Indians, is stated as from hearsay. I have already mentioned most of that information, and hold it unnecessary to recur to it again. In regard to the tribes of Sonora he is less explicit, and this may be accounted for by considering that the personal narrative is more properly a relation of how he sought and found Cibola than anything else. Nevertheless, we find valuable remarks concerning the Seris, their manner of navigation, fishing products, and their personal decoration. The same may be said of the Opatas and Sobaypuris. But important above all is the picture of primitive intercourse between distant stocks and tribes, of aboriginal commerce, in these Southwestern regions, which the monk has traced.

It is quite likely that the proportions of this commercial intercourse have been exaggerated by the friar's Indian informants. It would even be very strange if they had not. But the fact that it existed, that the Seris while at war with the tribes of the mainland still traded with them, thus forming a link between the Californian peninsula and Sonora, and that the Opatas and the Northern Pimas even went so far as Zuñi to exchange the products of the South for those of the North, is a very important feature. It may as well be stated here, that until 1859 the New Mexican Pueblos made annual trading expeditions to Guaymas and into the heart of Sonora, bartering buffalo robes, piñon, meat, and other products for iridescent conch-shells and the bright plumes of the parrot. Commerce in times previous to the advent of Europeans was an important factor in the formation, not only of geographical notions, but, above all, of mythological ideas, in the creation of new modes of worship, and

in the modification of established rites. The changes were of course extremely slow, almost imperceptible; still they crept into the customs, beliefs, and creeds of the tribes. A physical fact which the Indian is unable to explain becomes a religious idea; an historic occurrence, a mythological conception. A geographical fact, conveyed through oral information and not by ocular inspection, soon passes into the realm of the supernatural. The statements of Fray Marcos about this ancient intercourse are therefore of the greatest value. They are a warning that the culture of the tribes, both South and North, should be studied and judged with due allowance for the influence which such intercourse has always exercised.

A journey of exploration yielding the results which that of Fray Marcos presented to New Spain at his return, executed and reported upon with the conscientiousness of which we have seen such manifest proof, could not fail to create a powerful impression. It placed the unknown North within the pale of reality, and therefore within the reach of human enterprise. The most immediate result was Coronado's celebrated dash into New Mexico. The two, the journey of Fray Marcos and the expedition of Coronado, cannot be separated from each other.

They are the culminating points of a series of events, beginning with Gonzalo de Sandoval's report about the Amazons, and ending with the martyrdom of Fray Juan de Padilla in Northeastern Kansas and the wonderful return of Andrés Docampo to Mexico many years afterwards. Their practical result was, not only the discovery, but the exploration, of New Mexico and the countries northeast of it as far as the Arkansas River and beyond, at a time when the Atlantic coast of North America was but rarely visited, and no Europeans had set foot on the shores where now stand the most populous cities of the New World.

V.

THE EXPEDITION OF PEDRO DE VILLAZUR, FROM SANTA FÉ, NEW MEXICO, TO THE BANKS OF THE PLATTE RIVER, IN SEARCH OF THE FRENCH AND THE PAWNEES, IN THE YEAR 1720.

IN his work on the supposed expedition of Don Diego de Peñalosa to Quivira, Mr. John Gilmary Shea writes : "The Spaniards kept up expeditions to the Missouri, and in 1719 an expedition from New Mexico under Villazur, guided by a Frenchman, reached the Missouri opposite the towns of the Pananas (Pawnees) ; but the Indians, crossing by night, surprised the Spaniards, killing the commander and the guide, as well as Father John Mingues, the chaplain of the expedition. The French in Illinois soon heard of this affair, and Indians brought in trophies of their success, among them some of the vestments and church plate of the chaplain. According to the French accounts, the Spanish party were cut off by the Missouris, whom they mistook for the Osages, a tribe friendly to them." ¹

The above statement is quite accurate in the main, except that the event took place, not in 1719, but in the year following, 1720. Neither was it on the Missouri River that Villazur and his men were murdered, but on the Platte, and in all probability on the *southern* fork of that stream, near where Platte City stands to-day. It is the purpose of the following pages to present some further details concerning this Spanish reconnoissance towards the north of New Mexico.

¹ *The Expedition of Don Diego Dionisio de Peñalosa, etc.*, by John Gilmary Shea, 1882, p. 93.

In the course of my researches in behalf of the Hemenway Southwestern Archæological Expedition, I found a number of documents bearing upon the event which forms the subject of this sketch.¹ Careful copies of all these papers were made, and they seemed to justify the attempt to publish a short report on an occurrence to which as yet hardly any attention has been given. The reconnoissance of Villazur was probably the last attempt made on a larger scale by the Spaniards to penetrate to any distance, and with military forces, north of the Arkansas River.

The earliest meeting between the French and the Spaniards, in the regions west of the Mississippi Valley, took place, as far as I am able to gather, in the year 1689. Alonzo de Leon crossed over into Texas from Coahuila, and found the vestiges of the ill-fated expedition commanded by Robert Cavalier de la Salle. Six survivors from that unfortunate force — five young men and one girl — were ransomed by Leon from the Tejas Indians. Leon treated them very kindly, and sent two of the youths to the city of Mexico to give account of their experiences to the Viceroy, the Conde de Galve.² These two Frenchmen had both been implicated in the murder of La Salle. They were Jacques Grollet, a

¹ At the Territorial Library of Santa Fé, at the office of the U. S. Surveyor General, Santa Fé, and in the ecclesiastical archives of Santa Clara.

² The original report of Leon is at Washington. I have not seen it; but in the work of Fray Isidro Felis Espinosa, *Chronica Apostolica y Seraphica de Todos los Colegios de Propaganda Fide de esta Nueva España*, 1746, there is a full report of the occurrence (lib. v. cap. vi. pp. 409, 410). Another description is found in the work of P. Andres Cavo, S. J., *Los Tres Siglos de Mejico durante el Gobierno Español*, p. 230. But Cavo says that only two of the Frenchmen surrendered to Leon, L'Archévêque and Grollet: "Los otros tres no quisieron farse de los Españoles." Espinosa, on the other hand, fails to give the names of the two principal ones above stated. He enumerates Pedro Muñi (Pierre Meusnier), Pierre Talon, a boy called Robert, and the girl, Madelaine Talon. The tale, — except the names of the parties, is related by Grollet himself in his deposition contained in the *Ynformaciones de Santiago Grolee y de Elena Gallegos*, 1699, MS.

sailor from La Rochelle, aged twenty-four, and Jean l'Archêvêque, a native of Bayonne, aged nineteen. It was the latter who had, on the morning of the 18th of March, 1687, allured La Salle into the fatal trap where death was lurking for the celebrated explorer.¹ I purposely call attention to L'Archêvêque, since he played an important part in the tragedy of 1720 on the banks of the Platte River.

In 1700, while Pedro Rodriguez Cubero was Governor of New Mexico, news reached Santa Fé that the French had destroyed a village of the Jumanos Indians on the eastern plains,² and in 1702 a campaign was made in that direction.³ Nothing resulted from the scare, and hardly anything save loss of life through prowling Apaches was the fruit of the ill-advised expedition.

In 1704 the Indians of the pueblo of Picuries abandoned their village in Northern New Mexico and fled to the plains, where they established themselves at a place called El Quar-

¹ Compare Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, p. 403. The Frenchmen themselves make no allusion to the murder. Grollet only says in *Ynformaciones*: "Quedaron perdidos en tierra de indios infieles endonde estuuieron perdidos sinco años." Archêvêque is absolutely silent on the point, except that he confesses (*Ynformaciones y Diligencias Matrimoniales de Pedro Meusnier, Frances, y de Lucia Madrid*, 1699, MS.): "Porque el año de ochenta y quatro Salieron de Francia y el dho Pedro Meusnier venia en compañía de el General Monsieur de La Sala." The ages are gathered from the same documents.

² *Relacion Anónima de la Reconquista del Nuevo Mexico* (archives at Mexico, MS.): "El año de 1700 refirió un apache de los llanos que los franceses habian destruido el pueblo de los Jumanos, y esta noticia, que el alcalde mayor del pueblo de Taos comunicó á Cubero, hizo temer á todos los del reino que los franceses podian hacer suya esta tierra ó dar mucho trabajo en alguna irrupcion repentina."

³ *Ibid.*: "Fué por Julio de 1702 á la otra contra los apaches nombrados faraones, y no logró de ella." In the *Libro de Entierros de la Mision de N. S. de Los Angeles de Pecos* (1695 to 1706, MS.), there is, under date of the 1st of July, 1702, the entry: "Mataron en los Jumanos a Francisco & quando los ymbio el Sr Gouernador Dn Pedro Rodriguez Cubero de este Pueblo 56 Yndios." This would indicate that the expedition was on account of the Jumanos also.

telejo. Superstition was, from all indications, the cause of this hasty movement. The Governor, Don Francisco Cuerbo y Valdes, easily induced the fugitives to return.¹

About the same time the Comanches made their first appearance in New Mexico, introduced at the pueblo of Taos by the Yutes. The Yutes were at peace with the Spaniards until about 1705, when a conspiracy was detected, into which they, the Navajos, and other roaming tribes, had entered with some of the Pueblos against the Spaniards.² This strained the relations of the latter with the Northern Indians, and the Yutes soon took to stealing horses and running off stock. From time to time some of the Spaniards even lost their lives. The annoyance from that source became so great, that in 1719 the Governor, Don Antonio Valverde Cossio, determined upon a campaign into the northern and north-eastern plains. It was directed chiefly against the Yutes, and against such of the Comanches as had joined them. The expedition is declared to have been successful. At all events, Valverde penetrated to the Quarteletejo, and even beyond. I have not yet been able to find the journal of his expedition; but from other statements it results that he marched constantly north from Santa Fé, leaving the high mountains to his left and to the west, keeping on the plains, and thus reached the Quarteletejo at a distance of one hundred and thirty leagues, or three hundred and fifty miles, east of north

¹ This flight of the Indians of Picuries to the Quarteletejo is mentioned in several documents. I quote here only the witchcraft trial entitled *Causa Criminal contra Geronimo Dirucaca, Indio del Pueblo de Picuries*, 1713, MS., fol. 16, 17. The same document also fixes the date. In regard to the return from the Quarteletejo, it was effected in 1706 by the Sargente Mayor Juan de Uribarri. Francisco Cuerbo y Valdes, *Orden al Cappn Francisco Valdes Soribas sobre la Guerra contra los Moquis*, 1706, MS.

² Juan Paez Hurtado, *Diligenzias sobre hauer Contraydo Amistad los Yndios Xptianos con los Ynfieles*, 1704 and 1705, MS. The plot was a very dangerous one.

from Santa Fé.¹ This locates that point in Northwestern Kansas, very near the southern boundary of Nebraska.

The disconnected and loose condition of the roaming tribes constantly produced strange anomalies in the relations between the whites and the several bands, or hordes, of the same stock. Thus, while the Southern Apaches, the Faraones, were devastating the Spanish settlements and the sedentary Pueblos,² their northern congeners, the Jicarrillas, had con-

¹ *Junta y Parezeres sobre la Jornada al Reconocimiento de las Poblaciones Francesas al Noreste, y sobre el Establecimiento de un Presidio de veinte y cinco Plazas en el Puesto del Cuartelejo*, 1720, MS. The return of Valverde took place previous to November 30, 1719: "En virtud de las consultas echas por Dñ Māuel de Sñ Juan, Goñr que fue de la Nueva Viscaya, y vna mia de treinta de Noviembre pasado, en que doi quenta a su Eñā de la Jornada que acauaua de ejecutar en poz de la Nazon Yutta y Cumanche, y en ella hago expreziō de las Rancherias de Indios. . . . Lo Informado que me hallo y lo que experimente en la Jornada q̄ hize por el año pasado en busca de la Nazon Yutta y Cumanche, y sobre la situazion del Pressidio que manda hazentar en el paraje del cuartelejo, me conformo, etc. . . . y estos se situen en el puesto del Cuartelejo que dista de esta Villa como zientto y treinta leguas, poco mas, o menos, conforme lo *demarcado*." The last word I italicize, since it indicates that the statement as to the distance was not mere guesswork. In the same document the Captain of the Indians of the Pueblos (an honorary title given by the Spaniards), Joseph Naranjo, says: "Que por las esperienziās que le hazisten, y quatro entradas que a echo a dhos paizes de Cuartelexo, y alguna distanzia mas adelante."

² The depredations of the Faraones, under which name were included the bands roaming over the plains southeast of Santa Fé, are the subject of many interesting councils of war and other measures by the Spanish authorities of New Mexico. In 1702 Pedro Rodriguez Cubero made the useless campaign against them which I have already mentioned. In March and April, 1704, Don Diego de Vargas marched against them in the Sierra de Sandia without result, since he fell sick and died at Bernalillo on the 8th of April. *Autos de Guerra de la Primera Campaña que el Sr Marqs de la Nava de Brazinas Gour, etc., Sale en Persona a Hazer la Guerra offensiba a los Apaches Faraones desde la Sierra de Sandia y Carnue, etc.*, 1704, MS. Also, *Carta de Testamento de Don Diego de Vargas*, April 7, 1704, MS. Under the Governor Don Juan Ignacio Flores Mogollon, the incursions of the Faraones became very troublesome. Their lairs were especially the Sierra de Sandia on the east, and the Sierra de los Ladrones on the west side of the Rio Grande. *Autto y Junta de Guerra sobre si Sele deue Azer la Guerra alos Yndios Jentiles dela Nazon Faraona y Orden Pā que Seles requiera no executen Ningun Rouo*, 1714, MS. *Testimonio de las Juntas*

federated with the Spaniards against the Faraones, their enemies, and especially against the Yutes and Comanches.¹ It was part of the object of Valverde to secure the "Rancharias" of the Jicarrillas against the insults of their foes. One of the main localities inhabited by these friendly Apaches was the Jicarrilla, forty leagues (110 miles) north of Santa Fé; but it seems that another band of them also dwelt at the Quarteletejo.² This would reveal the strange fact, that

de Guerra que se formaron para hazer la Campaña a la Sierra de los Ladrones ; y Rouo de un Español que Trajeron los Apaches, 1715, MS. *Junta de Guerra sobre Muertes hechas por los Apaches en el Arroyo Hondo*, 1715, MS. The murders had been committed within five miles of Santa Fé. Also, *Causa Criminal contra el Cauo Lorenzo Rodriguez por el descuido que tubo en el Real de la Cauallada*, 1715, MS.

¹ Such conditions recurred frequently. *Junta y Parezeres sobre la Jornada al Reconocimiento de las Poblaciones Francesas*, 1720. Valverde says of the Apache Jicarrillas: "Y son las que me reziuieron con la Ymajen de Maria Santissima." In the same document: "Parezer del Capn Miguel Thenorio." Again Valverde in the same document says (speaking of the Jicarrilla Apaches): "Aunque estos Apaches admitan (como lo tienen ofrezido) su reduzion y Cathequismo, tienen por enemigos a la Nacion Yutta y Cumanche, por la partte del Nordesste, y por la del medio dia la Pharaona, q̄ aunque apache de ordinario andan encontradas." The Jicarrillas remained friendly to the Spaniards for a long time. But the Comanches drove them from their range at the Jicarrilla. *Testimonio de lo Acaesido en el Pueblo de Pecos, Noticia del Theniente de Taos, de hallarse en el Rio de la Gicarilla cien tiendas de Cumanches Enemigos, etc.*, 1748, MS.: "En el paraje que llaman la Gicarilla, distante de Dho Pueblo de Thaos veinte leguas, cuio sitio es mui comodo, asi de tierras como de aguas, pastos, y maderas, en el que en tiēpos pasados Estauan situados los Yndios Nacion Gicarillas, que heran muchos y tenian Casas, Jacales, y otras chozas, de donde los Gentiles Cumanches los despojaron, y mataron los mas de ellos, y los pocos que quedaron de Dhos Gicarillas se han abrigado y mantenido de paz ynmediatos alos Pueblos de Thaos, y de Pecos, con sus familias."

² *Junta y Parezeres sobre la Jornada*: "Ha de zer nezezario el que las armas lo defiendan y amparen de sus enemigos." In regard to the residence of Apaches at the Quarteletejo there are several proofs. In the document above stated Captain Joseph Naranjo speaks of the Apaches as dwelling there; and Captain Miguel Thenorio says: "Y que lo vido esto y experimento en la entrada que hizo al Quarteletejo quando se fue a sacar el pueblo de los Picuries. Gouernando este Reino el Genl Dn Francº Cueruo, y que en aquel entonces los Apaches que alli se hallauan Rancheados, les dixeron," etc. The name "Apaches del Quarteletejo" is found besides in various documents of the past

ramifications of the Tinneh had pushed as far to the north as Nebraska in the beginning of the eighteenth century. There is nothing at all improbable in this. The buffalo attracted, as well as guided, the roaming Indians to places and distances far from their original homes.¹ At all events, it was on his campaign of 1719 that Valverde heard, not only of Pawnee (Panana) villages situated on the Rio de Jesus Maria, seventy leagues (190 miles) north of the Quarteletejo, but of French settlements, or at least of Frenchmen living with the Pawnees. He at once reported this fact to Mexico, and the Viceroy, Marqués de Valero, promptly acted in the matter.²

I must remark here, that the Pawnees were known to the Spaniards in the seventeenth century.³ Pawnee captives were not unfrequently ransomed in New Mexico from the Apaches and from the Yutes;⁴ and while no direct contact

century. Consult Pedro de Rivera, *Diario y Derrotero de lo Caminado, visto y observado en el Discurso de la Visita General de Presidios situados en las Provincias Ynternas de la Nueva España*, 1736, p. 33; Matias de la Mota Padilla, *Historia de la Nueva Galicia*, 1742, p. 516. It is not unlikely that the name "Quarteletejo" may have originated from the temporary stay of the Picuries Indians at the place. So it is intimated by Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante in his letter to Father Augustin Morfi, *Carta al Padre Lector Fray Agustin Morfi*, April 2, 1778, MS., p. 12.

¹ Compare, for instance, the shiftings of the Quiviras (a band of the Teton Sioux) from Northern Kansas into Southeastern New Mexico and Western Arkansas, the spread of the Comanches during the eighteenth century into Texas, the extension of the Apaches from New Mexico into Sonora and Chihuahua (the latter as a result of the Pueblo insurrection and of the pressure from the advancing Comanches), the gradual receding of the Jumanos from Eastern New Mexico into Central Texas, and many other instances of that kind. I quote no sources, as it would carry me too far.

² *Junta y Parezeres*, MS. *Pareceres del Fiscal Mayor y del Auditor sobre la Causa contra el Gobør Dñ Antonio Balverde Cosio, y Sentencia, etc.*, 1727, MS. In the former document Captain Naranjo says: "Y quatro entradas que a echo a dhos paizes del Quarteletejo, y alguna distancia mas adelante, como hasta el Rio Grande, que le puzo por Nombre Jessus Maria que disttara del paraje del quarteletejo a dhõ Rio, como Settenta leguas, poco mas ó menos."

³ The name appears in church books.

⁴ *Libro 2do de Difuntos de la Mission de Nuestra Señora del Paso del Rio del*

was had with them, beyond, perhaps, an occasional meeting on the plains, still the tribe was known, and its range approximately located.¹

The action taken by the superior authorities at Mexico consisted in directing Valverde to send an expedition to the Pawnee villages, and also to examine as to whether it would be advisable to establish a military post at the Cuartelejo.² The first part of these instructions admitted of no discussion, the order being peremptory; on the second point, a council of war was held at Santa Fé on the 2d of June, 1720. Nine leading officers and representative men of New Mexico took part in it; and their opinion was unanimous to the effect that it was not advisable to establish a post garrisoned by only twenty-five men, as the Viceroy had directed, at such a great distance from Santa Fé and the Spanish settlements in general. Instead of the Cuartelejo, the Jicarrilla was suggested, as being nearer, and also fully provided with wood and water, whereas the former lay in an arid steppe.³ One

Norte, 1685-1693, MS., fol. 47. Funeral notice of an old "Panana" woman. Another in 1707. *Libro Tercero de Difuntos*, MS. Also in 1708. On the 6th of January, 1693, a Panana boy, ten years old, was baptized at El Paso. *Libro 2do de Bautismos*, MS., fol. 76. In 1725 a marriage of Panana with Yute was also performed at El Paso. *Libro Segundo de Casamientos*, MS., fol. 35. All these Pawnees (for that the Pananas were the Pawnees admits of no doubt) were certainly captives, bought or ransomed by the Spaniards from the plain tribes, or rescued from among the Pueblos then hostile to the Spaniards.

¹ This results from intercourse with the Yutes, and the conversation with Pawnee captives themselves.

² The order of the Viceroy bears date January 10, 1720, and was received by Valverde while at El Paso del Norte on the 4th of March of the same year. *Junta de Parezeres sobre la Jornada*.

³ *Ibid.*, Parezer del Capⁿ Joseph Naranjo: "Y dicho paraje del cuartelexo no es al proposito, no tienen las conueniencias que nezezitan para poder hazer haziento de Presidio ni poblazon, y estas las tienen solo del Temporal, por la poca agua y ninguna leña de suerte que encogiendo sus Cozechas se retiran de dho puesto." Parezer del Capⁿ Miguel Thenorio: "Y que en aquel entonces los Apaches que alli se hallauan Rancheados, les dixeron que asi que leban-tauan sus siembras (que estas por lo que se manifiesta son de temporal) se

officer who assisted at this council, and gave his opinion with great precision and clearness, was "Captain" Juan de Archibeque, or Jean l'Archévêque, the betrayer of La Salle.¹

A brief sketch of the life of this man up to this date may not be amiss here. The documents therefor are mostly at the Indian village of Santa Clara, where the ecclesiastical archives formerly in the Custody of the Conversion of Saint Paul of New Mexico² were mostly deposited at one time, and where I found among others the matrimonial informations (*Diligencias Matrimoniales*) of Archévêque himself, and of his two companions, Grollet and Meusnier.³ The inventory of the estate of Jean l'Archévêque⁴ exists among the archives

retirauan apartes donde poder resistir al rigor del Inbierno, por la falta de leña que en aquel paraje ay." Parezer del Capⁿ Josseph Dominguez: "Del puesto del Quartelexo, lo escazo de Agua de dho Sittio, y ninguna leña, y ser el sentro de la Apacheria." Parezer del Cappⁿ Seuastian Martin: "Hallo y reconozio el dho puesto ser muy escazo de aguas, y sin convenienzia alguna de leña." This plainly proves that the Quarteletejo was on the great plains.

¹ *Junta de Parezeres*, Parezer del Cappⁿ Joan de Archibeqē. The final words of his opinion are significant: "Que en este Valle [of the Jicarrilla] en la parte que fuere mas conveniente se sittue el Presidio de los veinte y sinco hombres. . . . Y le seruira de mucho aliuiio, assi a este Reino como adquirir noticias con mas facilidad de la *Nazion de sus Paizanos los Franzeses*." I italicize the last words, since they show that he still publicly recognized himself as a Frenchman, at least by birth. The change in name from Archévêque to Archibeque was already made by the Spaniards in 1689. Cavo, *Los Tres Siglos de Mexico*, p. 230. In the numerous papers concerning him in my custody, it is variously written Archebec, Archibec, but the spelling Archibeque has finally remained, and his descendants, of whom there are quite a number in New Mexico, write their name Archibeque. He himself signed De Archéuêque until after 1702. In 1719 he signed De Archiueque and De Archibeque. *Ynformaciones de Juan de Archibeque y de Doña Manuela de Roybal*, MS.

² It depended upon the "Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico." Although the Franciscan friars were really expelled from New Mexico about 1733, secular priests taking their place, nevertheless there remained at the pueblo and mission of Isleta a nominal "Custodio" of the former province, Fray Mariano de Jesus Lopez, who died there in 1848 from the accidental discharge of a pistol.

³ Meusnier married in 1699 one Lucia Madrid. He was then still a soldier. *Ynformaciones Matrimoniales de Pedro Meusnier Frances, etc.*, MS.

⁴ *Ynbentarios y Avtos de Liquidasion y Partision de el Caudal que quedo por*

of the Surveyor General's office at Santa Fé, and some additional information was obtained from the Territorial Library.

Jean l'Archévêque was born at Bayonne, in Southern France, in the year 1671. His parents were Claude l'Archévêque and Marie d'Armagnac. In 1684 he came to the shores of Texas with La Salle and his expedition. It appears, then, that when L'Archévêque played the odious part of a decoy for La Salle's murderers in 1687, he was but sixteen years of age. Joining the Indians after the assassination of his great leader, he was picked up by Alonzo de Leon in 1689, sent to Mexico, and finally to Spain with Grollet,¹ whence the two returned in 1692,² and rejoined their comrade Meusnier at El Paso del Norte. L'Archévêque and Meusnier became soldiers under the victorious banners of Don Diego de Vargas, the reconqueror of New Mexico.³ Grollet wandered to New Mexico as a colonist.⁴ In 1697, L'Archévêque married, at Santa Fé, Antonia Gutierrez, widow of one Tomás de Ytta,

Fin y Muerte del Cappñ Juan de Archineque entre sus Hijos y Herederos echas en esta Villa de Sta Fee por el Cappñ Dñ Franco Bueno de Bohorques Alcalde Mör de Dhã Villa, 1720, MS.

¹ Cavo, *Los Tres Siglos*, p. 236: "En este año [1692] volvió de Madrid, con los dos franceses que dijimos, D. Andres Perez." *Ynformaciones de Santiago Grolee*, 1699, MS. The names of Grollet's parents are also given in this document, — Yvon Grollet and Marie Odan (possibly Odain).

² *Ibid.*

³ The date I have not yet been able to find; but it was probably in the same year, or the year following.

⁴ He settled at Bernalillo on the Rio Grande, where his first child, a boy named Antonio, was baptized on the 2d of April, 1703. *Primer Libro de Bautismos de Bernalillo*, MS. In 1697 he appears in the list of the settlers to whom Diego de Vargas distributed cattle and clothing. But while his name is on the list, it appears that he received nothing himself. *Repartimiento que hizo el Gobernador Don Diego de Vargas a los Vezinos del Nuevo Mexico tanto de Generos como de Ganados Mayores y Menores*, 1697, MS. The last mention I have found of him so far is in the year 1705, when, being a resident of Bernalillo, and under the name of Santiago Groli, he passed muster by order of the Governor Cuerdo y Valdes, with one musket, his own weapons, three horses, and without ammunition. *Autos y Juntas de Guerra sobre las Invasiones que hacian los Navajos*, 1705, MS., fol. 18.

who had been murdered near Zacatecas three years previously.¹ Four years after his marriage, L'Archévêque purchased a house and lot in Santa Fé; about the same time his wife died, leaving him two children.² In 1702 we find him at Acoma and at Zuñi, escorting Captain Juan de Uribarri, sent to investigate the truth of the rumors of a conspiracy among the Indians of those pueblos.³ He also went to the Quartejejo in 1706. Retiring from military service, he became a very successful trader. His trading expeditions extended over New Mexico and Sonora, and he repeatedly visited the city of Mexico also. He was a "man of means," wrote a good hand, and his advice and assistance were sought for by the Governors, as well in military as in financial matters.⁴ On the 16th of August, 1719, L'Archévêque remarried;

¹ *Ynformaciones de Juan de Archebec y Anttā Gutierrez Viuda*, 1697, MS. Juan Paez Hurtado, *Carta a Don Diego de Vargas*, November 21, 1694, MS. It appears that he had already applied for a marriage license in 1696; but the permit was refused until the demise of Tomás de Ytta could be fully established.

² The deed is at the Archives of the U. S. Surveyor General's office, where I saw it. Concerning the death of his wife, Antonia, see *Ynformaciones de Juan de Archibeque y de Doña Manuela Roybal*, 1719. In addition to the two legitimate children, Miguel (from whom most of the present Archibeques descend, and who had married a sister of his father's second wife) and Maria, married to a son of Captain Francisco Casados, he left two illegitimate offspring, — Agustin and Juan. *Ynbentario y Avtos de Liquidacion*, fol. 2.

³ *Interrogatorios de varios Indios de los Pueblos de Laguna Acoma y Zuñi, sobre el supuesto Alzamiento de los Zuñis*, 1702, MS. He acted as official witness also.

⁴ His estate yielded 6,118 pesos. See *Yjuela de Partiziones entre los Hijos y Herederos*, in *Ynbentarios y Avtos de Partision*, fol. 33. The widow received 417 pesos; each legitimate child, 2,346 pesos; the natural son, Juan, 545; Agustin, 200; Juan's mother, Maria de Mascareñas, a servant girl whom he maintained as adoptive daughter, 200; and an old servant, Francisca de Velasco, 64 pesos. That he was called to military councils of importance as early as 1715 is shown by official documents. *Testimonio de las Juntas de Guerra que se formaron para hazer la Campaña a la Sierra de los Ladrones*, 1715, MS., fol. 6. In regard to the importance of Archibeque as a trader, the *Ynbentario* gives sufficient evidence. See, for instance, the letter of Santiago Sanchez de la Guerra to Miguel de Archibeque, dated Chihuahua, December 15, 1720, fol. 18, and the *Declarasion de Miguel de Archibeque de lo que Comersio el Difunto su Padre*, fol. 30.

this time his bride was Manuela, the daughter of Ignacio de Roybal, and at the wedding, which was celebrated in the church of the pueblo of San Ildefonso, the Governor Don Antonio Valverde Cossio acted as groomsman.¹ Captain Juan de Archibeque stood high in New Mexico, as well as in the neighboring province of New Biscay.

At the time when the council of war took place, the expedition to the Pawnee villages was already organized. Valverde had been instructed to command it in person; but for some reason, which was afterwards deemed sufficient by the superior authorities, he intrusted the command to his lieutenant, Don Pedro de Villazur.²

I have not as yet been able to find anything touching upon the previous life of this officer, beyond the fact that, in 1718, he was already "Sargento Mayor" (Lieutenant Colonel) of the forces of New Mexico.³ This, and the fact that he exercised the functions of Lieutenant Governor of the province in 1720, would indicate that he was a man of capacity and merit in the military line proper. Nevertheless, the disaster which occurred on the Platte River is usually attributed to utter inefficiency on his part, and we shall see that the circumstances point in that direction. Villazur was perhaps an officer of the regular army, and well fitted to command a campaign against regular troops, but inexperienced in Indian warfare. Be this as it may, he became commander of the little force destined to reconnoitre the distant North, and to win away from the French — with whom Spain was then at war — the friendship of the Pawnees.

¹ *Ynformaciones de Juan de Archibeque y de Doña Manuela de Roybal*, 1719. The marriage date, etc., is in the *Libro de Casamientos de San Ildefonso*, MS., fol. 17.

² *Junta y Parezeres sobre la Jornada. Pareceres del Fiscal Mayor y del Auditor sobre la Causa contra el Gobernador Don Antonio Valverde Cossio*, 1727, MS.

³ *Autos y Pareceres sobre el Pedimento de los Tanos de Galisteo Pidiendo Licencia Para ir al Moqui a visitar a sus Parientes*, 1718, MS.

What the instructions were which Don Antonio Valverde gave to his Lieutenant I am unable to say; but it is evident that the force placed under the command of Villazur was rather insufficient for offensive operations against a tribe as powerful and warlike as the Pawnees, in whose hands, owing to intercourse with the French, fire-arms might be expected. Fifty armed Spaniards composed the corps.¹ It is true that servants accompanied some of these, that the train had its Indians armed as usual with bows and arrows, and that the assistance of the Apaches, of the Jicarrilla, and of the Quartejejo was counted upon. Still, it was too small a body of men for the task. This seems to indicate that Villazur was to avoid hostilities as much as possible, and to negotiate rather than to attack. His own subsequent conduct corroborates this impression.

A heavy mule train, laden chiefly with provisions, accompanied the soldiers. Only a limited number of articles for exchange were taken along. They were chiefly intended for the Apaches, who were to be coaxed into guiding and accompanying the expedition.² On the other hand, the commander

¹ *Parecer del Fiscal Mayor*, in the document given in note 2, page 192: "Dize que de la sumaria fulminada por el expresado Brigadier, esta constante, que el dia catorze de Junio de setecientos y veinte, destaco un trozo de cinquenta soldados del Presidio de Santa Fee, que fue bajo del commando de Don Pedro de Villazur, a fin de Executar la Referida Inspeccion." (fol. 3.) The term "inspeccion" quite determines the character of the expedition, as also, on folio 1 of the same document, the words "al reconocimiento del Rio Jesus Maria." The latter is in the preliminary declaration of the Viceroy at that time (1727), the Marques de Casafuerte. That the Spaniards were to expect fire-arms among the Pawnees had been found out by Valverde himself on his expedition of 1719. *Parezer del Señor Auditor* (same document): "Dio quenta Don Antonio Balverde Cosio, Gouernador del Nuevo Mexico, que en la Campaña a que salio, hallo un herido de un fuzilazo, que dixo hauer reseuido de los Pananas, o Franceses." That Villazur was Lieutenant Governor of New Mexico in 1720 is amply proved.

² *Autos sobre Comercio illicito con los Franceses del Oriente y de la Luisiana*, 1724, MS. General Juan Paez Hurtado declares that Valverde "imbio fue media pieça de Vayeta, unos cuchillos velduqs y vnos sombreros pã regalar

was careful to take with him a portion, at least, of his silver ware. Several silver cups, half a dozen saucers, forks and spoons, a silver candlestick, and an inkstand of the same metal, were packed with his other personal effects.¹ These are insignificant details, still they are "straws" affording an insight into the character of the man. Don Pedro de Villazur may have been very brave, but he seems to have been rather unacquainted with the character of the march which he undertook.²

alos Indios Jentiles pã que les siruieran de guia." Captain Alonzo Rael de Aguilar (the younger) deposes: "Y una poca de vaieta, cuchillos y sombreros con el animo de repartirlo entre los Indios Jentiles del Quartelejo pã gratificarlos Pñ lo q̄ pudiera desalserse como de echo abrio lo q̄ lleuaua en los Indios Jentiles llamados Carlanes Pã regalar a los Indios q̄ sacaron de guia." Corporal Felipe Tamariz: "Y que tambien vido lleuaua un tercio de tavaco, una poca de bayeta, unos sombreros y unos cuchillos velduq̄s para con ellos gratificar a los Indios Principales de las Naciones Carlanes, Xicarillas y Quartelexos a q̄ le sirviesen de guia." Three more witnesses testify to the same effect. In regard to the provisions and supplies, there is ample testimony in the same document.

¹ This is abundantly proved by the document above quoted. The Sargento Mayor Don Alonzo Rael de Aguilar (the elder) says: "q̄ lo q̄ unicamente lleuaua de plata eran unos platyllos, unos tazas, unos cucharas y tenedores un candelero y un tintero." His son declares: "Y que no bido lleuassen mas plata q̄ Dhos quatro o seis platillos un candelero un tintero salvadera y algunas cucharas Pã su Seruõ." Felipe Tamariz: "Y q̄ tambien vido lleuaua el rreferido Thente Gral seis platos de plata, unas tasas y unas cucharas y candeleros de q̄ se Yba seruiendo." From hearsay two other witnesses, Diego Arias de Quiros and Don Ignacio de Roybal (father-in-law of Juan de Archibeque), corroborate the above.

² True it is that Diego de Vargas, the reconqueror of New Mexico, kept considerable silver plate at Santa Fé (*Carta de Testamento*, MS., and also *Ynventario de los Uienes que se Hallaron del Señor Marques de la Naba de Brazinas ya Difunto Gouernõr y Capñ Genl que fue deste Reyno de la Nuã Mexico*, 1704, MS.); but this was at his residence, and although he was careful on all his campaigns to supply himself with necessities, he avoided everything superfluous. In his *Parecer*, the Fiscal Mayor of New Spain says touching Don Pedro de Villazur: "Ni menos por ignorancia en el manejo de las armas, por haverse exercitado mucho tiempo en diverssos empleos militares." This indicates that he was an officer of the regular army. At the same time, the charge made by the Viceroy Marques de Casafuerte in the same document, — "Y que por haver fiado esta expedicion a Don Pedro de Villazur, su Theniente General, hombre poco experto

The fact that silver plate was taken along might perhaps explain the silver ware secured as trophies by the Indians and mentioned by Mr. Shea; for it is very strange that, while the French sources, and also, in 1778,¹ Father Silvestre Velez de Escalante (a very high authority), speak of a "chaplain" of the expedition, the documents gathered by me are absolutely silent on that point; and yet I can hardly refuse to believe that Fray Juan Mingues, who in 1720 was priest of Santa Clara, and lastly of Galisteo, did indeed accompany Villazur and his men. For Fray Juan Mingues was a priest very well known. Previous to 1706 he had been in charge of the important parish of Santa Cruz de la Cañada.² In the same year he was sent to Zuñi for a short time. After the death of Fray Juan Garaycocchea,³ we find him again at Santa Cruz, Nambé, and Pojuaque between 1710 and 1715;⁴ at San

en la milisia," — is not a little strengthened by the fact that he carried with him objects of useless display on such a long and difficult journey.

¹ *Peñalosa*, p. 93. *Journal Historique de l'Établissement des Français à la Louisiane*, p. 249: "Excepté un religieux qui s'était sauvé sur son cheval." *Carta al Padre Lector Fray Agustin Morfi*, MS. The date of this important letter is April 2, 1778. Father Escalante says (p. 12): "Que perecieron los mas, y entre ellos el padre fray Juan Minguez, misionero de esta custodia." Father Escalante had the best opportunity of knowing, as he had access to all the archives. He was an unusually brilliant, energetic, and devoted — also learned — man. I have found him as priest in various New Mexican missions between 1775 and 1777. He died soon, however. His most striking achievement, outside of his literary and religious work, is the trip made by him from Santa Fé to the San Juan River, the Moquis, and to Zuñi, in 1776. Compare in the first volume of the second series of the "Documentos para la Historia de Mejico," the *Diario y Derrotero de los RR. PP. Fr. Francisco Atanasio Dominguez y Fr. Silvestre Velez de Escalante; Para descubrir el Camino desde el Presidio de Santa Fe del Nuevo Mexico, al de Monterey, en la California Septentrional*, pp. 377 to end of volume.

² *Peticion de los Pobladores de Santa Maria del Grado al P. Custodio Fr. Agustin de Colina*, 1706, MS. They asked the custodian to give them Fray Mingues for parish priest. It was refused. In the reply, which bears date January 1, 1707, Father Mingues signs as "Pro Secretario" of the Custody.

³ *Libro de Entierros de Zuñi*, MS. He remained at Zuñi but a few months.

⁴ *Fragmentos de Partidas de Santa Cruz*, MS. at Santa Clara. *Libro de Entierros de las Misiones de Pojuaque y Nambe*, MS. He officiated there in 1712 and 1713.

Ildefonso in 1717;¹ at Santa Clara from that date on till 1720;² and lastly, on the 15th of June, 1720, at Galisteo, which parish he turned over on that day to Fray Juan del Pino.³ After that date he disappears from the records. The day previous, Pedro de Villazur had started with his men for the villages of the Pawnees.

It was, indeed, on the 14th of June that the ill-fated campaign was inaugurated.⁴ The Captain Juan de Archibeque accompanied it, probably as "homme de confiance." He took along his body servant, Santiago Giravalle; and not less than ten horses and six pack mules had been contributed by the well to do trader for the occasion.⁵

On the 6th of September of the same year, a soldier by the name of Felipe Tamariz, who had gone with the expedition, reached Santa Fé. He brought the news that the Spanish camp had been surprised by the Indians near the Pawnee villages, and completely annihilated. The commander, the Captain Juan de Archibeque, and over forty Spaniards, were killed, the camp equipage and everything else except a large

¹ *Libro de Casamientos de San Ildefonso*, 1700-1781, MS.

² *Libro de Fabrica de la Mision de Santa Clara*, MS.

³ *Libro de Entriegas y Fabrica de la Mision Nuestra de Señora de los Remedios de Galisteo*, MS., fol. 12.

⁴ The date is in *Parezer del Fiscal Mayor*: "Esta constante, que el dia catorze de Junio de setecientos y veinte, destacó un trozo de cinquenta soldados del Presidio de Santa Fee, que fue bajo del commando de Don Pedro de Villasur, a fin de executar la referida inspeccion."

⁵ *Ynbentarios y Avtos de Liquidasion y Partision*, fol. 1. It is needless to give other proof of the fact that Archibeque went along. That he was regarded as a man of thorough knowledge of the country, and as such a good adviser to Villazur, may be inferred from the fact that he had gone to the Quarteletejo in 1706, when Juan de Uribarri went thither to induce the Indians of Picuries to return to their village. He says himself in *Junta de Parezeres sobre la Jornada*: "Que en tiempo q̄ se fue a sacar el pueblo de los Picuries que retirados y fujituios se hallauan en el puesto del quartelexo, fue uno de los q̄ entraron a esta funzion, y que vido y reconozio dho puesto." The number of horses taken along by him, or furnished by him to the military for the expedition, is in *Ynbentarios*, fol. 8 and 12. It is strange that only *three* of these horses were lost.

proportion of the horses captured. Only the Indian auxiliaries and six or seven Spaniards had escaped.¹ Nine days afterwards the remaining horses came in. They had been left at Taos by the fugitives.²

I have been able to ascertain the names of some of the survivors. They are Felipe Tamariz, Antonio de Armenta, Melchor Rodriguez, Manuel Thenorio de Alba, and Alonzo Rael de Aguilar the younger. Four of these were in the military service at the time. Among the servants who escaped was Santiago Giravalle, the servant of Juan de Archibeque.³

The journal of the expedition, which Don Pedro Villazur certainly had caused to be kept, was lost with the rest of the property in camp, and there is therefore no detailed account of the journey.⁴ The depositions of eyewitnesses,

¹ *Ynbentarios y Autos*, fol. 1.

² *Ibid.*, fol. 8.

³ These names are gathered from various sources. Felipe Tamariz appears as the one who brought the news in *Ynbentarios*, fol. 1: "Y de aber en dho dia de la fha llegado a esta Villa Phelipe Tamariz Soldado de este Real presidio y vno de los que fueron a dha Jornada Con la Mala notizia del desgraziado Suzeso." He also testifies in *Ynformaciones de Manuel Flores y de Ana Maria de Vega, Viuda de Domingo Mendizabal*, 1723, (MS.,) and in the *Diligencias Matrimoniales de Bernardino de Sena y de Doña Manuela de Ruibal Viuda de Juan de Archibeque*, 1727, (MS.,) together with Antonio de Armenta (soldier), Manuel Thenorio de Alba (soldier), and Melchor Rodriguez (citizen). In regard to the younger Rael de Aguilar, I find his testimony in *Autos sobre Comercio illicito con los Franceses* (MS.): "Y q̄ tambien saue como testigo de vista P̄r auer sido uno de los soldados q̄ fueron al reconocimtō de dhās poblasones de franzesses." Santiago Giravalle appears in *Ynbentarios*, fol. 8, and in *Ynformaciones de Bernardino de Sena*, etc.

⁴ Ever since July, 1573, every Spanish expedition or exploration had to keep a regular journal. This is expressly ordained in *Ordenanzas de su Magestad hechas para los nuevos Descubrimientos, Conquistas y Pacificaciones* (*Documentos inéditos de Indias*, vol. xvi.). On page 149 it is ordained: "Los descubridores por mar ô por tierra, hagan comentario é memoria por dias, de todo lo que vieren y hallaren y les aconteciere en las tierras que descubrieren; é todo lo vayan asentando en un libro, y despues de asentado se léa en publico cada dia,

taken by order of the superior government in 1725,¹ have also disappeared from the archives of Santa Fé, like a great many other papers of historical value. Still, the march of Villazur can be approximately traced, and the Pawnee villages on the Rio de Jesus Maria located with tolerable accuracy. I have already stated that I would identify the Rio Jesus Maria with the Platte, instead of with the Missouri.

Two facts are positively established. One is, that Villazur passed through the Apache hordes at the Jicarrilla; the other, that he also passed through the Quartejejo.² In other words, he followed the route taken by Valverde when the latter made his campaign of 1719. This indicates that after reaching the eastern steppes he marched constantly to the east of north, with the high mountain ranges to his left.³ In this

delante los que fueron al dicho descubrimiento porque se averigue mas lo que pasare y pueda constar de la verdad de todello, firmandolo de algunos de los principales, el cual libro se guardara a mucho recabdo para que cuando vuelvan le traigan y presenten ante la Audiencia con cuya licencia hobieren ido." It would have been almost a miracle if the journal of Villazur had escaped the destruction of the camp.

¹ The inquest had been committed to the Brigadier Don Pedro de Rivera. He visited New Mexico in 1725, and took the depositions in the year following. See *Pareceres del Fiscal Mayor y del Auditor sobre la Causa contra el Gobernador Antonio Valverde Cosio*, 1727, MS.

² This is plainly established by the witnesses testifying in *Autos sobre Comercio illicito con los Franceses*, by Alonzo Rael de Aguilar the younger, and by Felipe Tamaris; also by Manuel Thenorio de Alba, in the same document.

³ I have substantiated this in note 1, p. 183, and note 2, p. 185. In the document closing the *Junta de Parezeres sobre la Jornada*, Valverde says: "Tantee que de ocho a diez leguas de distancia de la Sierra que lleue Spre a la mano Yzquierda hazia el poniente su derezera al norte." The direction of north by east, or north-northeast, is furthermore confirmed by the reports from French sources. The *Journal Historique de la Louisiane* says that the Spaniards were guided too much to the north by the "Padoucas" (p. 249): "Qui, au lieu de les conduire à l'Est-quart-nordest, donnèrent trop dans le Nord, en sorte qu'ils arrivèrent sur les bords de la rivière des Cancés aux environs du Missouri." This is sufficiently plain. The "Rivière des Cancés" cannot have been the Arkansas, for its junction with the Mississippi (not Missouri) lies south of east from Santa Fé. It was not the Missouri itself, hence it must have been the Platte.

manner he arrived at the Quartejejo, 350 miles from Santa Fé. Thence he had 190 miles more to make in order to reach the Pawnee villages and the river in question. The total distance of 540 miles is more than twice the distance separating Santa Fé from the Arkansas. It falls far short of the distance from the former place to the Missouri in the direction of north-northeast. Between the Arkansas and the Missouri the river Platte is the only large stream, and the number of miles (or leagues which we may convert into miles) given by Valverde and his officers corresponds closely to the approximate distance from Santa Fé to Platte City in a direct line. I may add here that the Spanish estimates of distances are usually quite exact.

The expedition left Santa Fé, as already stated, on the 14th of June. On its way it visited the friendly Apaches, and induced them to furnish, not only guides and a Christian Pawnee captive, but also a band of auxiliaries, the number of which I have not learned.¹ Sixty-two days after his departure from the capital of New Mexico, therefore on the 15th of August, Villazur sighted the villages of the Pawnees on the north bank of the Platte. He at once sent the Christian captive as messenger to his people, but the man never returned. In his message to the Indians, Villazur committed the imprudence of inquiring whether there were any Frenchmen with them. On the same day, however, several Pawnees came into the Spanish camp with a reply of some kind, but there was nobody to understand them and interpret for them.

¹ This may be deduced from the *Parezer del Auditor*. He speaks of "Indios confederados," fol. 5. These Indians must have been Apaches Carlanes, who, it seems, dwelt on the Arkansas. *Autos sobre Comercio illicito con los Franceses*. The eyewitnesses and survivors of Villazur's expedition, the younger Rael de Aguilar and Felipe Tamariz, both state that the "Carlanes" guided the Spaniards, and Manuel Thenorio de Alba adds: "Y los pasaron en balsas en un rrio q̄ esta en la tierra de dhos Carlanes." This river, for the crossing of which it was necessary to construct rafts (balsas) must have been the Arkansas.

Thereupon Villazur justly grew suspicious, and determined upon retreating to another stream one day's journey from the one on which the Pawnees were established. As night came on, he made camp on the south side of the *south* fork of the Platte in high grass.¹

¹ These details are gathered from the report of the Auditor (*Parezer del Sr. Auditor*), and I give it textually: "Y haviendo llegado a avistar la poblazon de los Pananas, en que hauitan Franceses, embio un Panana catholico, para que a nacionales les expresase iban de paz. Quedose entre los suyos, y estos embiaron a unos Yndios, con respuesta, que no fue entendida, pero si perseuida su reserva, y malicia. Determinaba el Teniente pasar el rio, que diuidia su campo de la poblazon, y buscando vado, se supo que los Pananas hauian presso en el rio, a uno, o dos de nuestros confederados: con lo que hizo junta de guerra, en que se resoluió la retirada a otro rio, distante de este un dia de camino, y vadeado se asento el Real, y se encomendo la Sentinela del Rio a los Yndios confederados." The date is fixed by the *Parecer del Fiscal Mayor*, fol. 3: "Donde haviendo llegado, a los sesenta y tres dias, fueron insultados de los Indios. . . . Por hauer sido esta [the engagement, "la faccion"] a los sesenta y tres dias de la salida de dicha Villa." This places the date of the massacre on the 16th of August, consequently they reached the Rio de Jesus Maria on the 15th.

The theory might be advanced, that Villazur marched more to the northeast; and that while the Pawnees may have been located on the Missouri, the action proper took place on the Platte, near to its junction with the greater stream, or in the vicinity of Omaha. The distance, however, is too great, even in an air line, by over one hundred miles, and the Spanish indications of distances allude to the routes travelled, and not to direct distances. Still, one fact is certain at all events, that the rout occurred on the Platte, whether on its southern fork near Platte City, as I for the present assume, or on the main river near Omaha, is a matter to be decided hereafter, if the depositions of eyewitnesses ever come to light again. In conjunction with this, I must mention here a notice (thus far unauthenticated) which has been given me, to the effect that pieces of Spanish armor had been found in Nebraska. If such should indeed be the case, then it is important to ascertain what kind of armor it is, of about what century, and where and under what conditions it was first discovered. If near Omaha, it might tend to indicate that the expedition of Villazur reached the river Missouri; if near Platte City, then Platte River must have been the site of the Pawnee villages. At all events, the butchery proper took place on the Platte, either on the main stream near its junction with the Missouri, or on the southern fork not far from the union of both branches. For the present, and until better informed, I assume the latter to have been the case. The mouth of the Platte is east of northeast from Santa Fé; that is, the very direction which the *Journal Historique* says the Spaniards failed to take.

No worse position could have been chosen by Villazur for his encampment. It afforded an Indian enemy every possible opportunity for crossing the river unseen, and hiding in the tall prairie grass until daybreak, creeping up as near as possible to the camp, and pouncing upon the Spaniards at the most dangerous moment, which is always the hour about sunrise. Villazur cannot have been other than a novice in Indian warfare, else he would not have exposed himself and his men to such imminent danger.

But it may well be asked, Why did not Archibeque and the other officers cause this unfortunate disposition to be changed? In the first place, it must be taken into account that the position had something enticing in the fact that the river lay between them and the Pawnees. Again, we do not know how far Villazur was accessible to advice. Officers of his kind — regular officers — are not always willing to yield to inferiors of much greater local experience. There is, however, one strange fact. The night watch was not committed to Spanish soldiers; it was left to the Indian auxiliaries; and the events of the day following prove that the entire Spanish force went to sleep with the utmost unconcern. This seems to indicate that over-confidence in the armament, and in the number and reliability of the Indian confederates, had seized officers and men, and that their doom was sealed under almost any circumstances.¹

The official report on the investigation of the whole campaign severely blames the action of Villazur in intrusting the safety of the camp over night to Indian auxiliaries, instead of placing Spaniards on duty. The "Auditor" says in his "Opinion" that the Indians were tired and sleepy, and thus excuses their neglect to call attention to a number

¹ *Parezer del Auditor*, fol. 5: "Y se encomendo la Sentinela del Rio a los Indios confederados." Still, the guard of the horses seems to have been intrusted to Spaniards.

of noises which were not merely suspicious, but absolutely sure signs of the approach of danger. Thus it was ascertained afterwards that a sound had been heard distinctly of people swimming the river, and the barking or yelping of a dog near by.¹ It is therefore pertinent to ask, Were the

¹ The Auditor is rather strong in his condemnation of Villazur (fol. 6): "Es cierto, que quando Don Antonio por si huviese tenido la justa causa que alegó, para no pasar a esta expedicion, como ofreció, no la tuvo para fiarla a este teniente suyo, tan poco experto, como manifiesta la serie de este justificado hecho; pues si huviese sido experto, no huviese querido, como quiso pasar el rio, inmediato a los Pananas, para entrarse en su poblazon con su gente; pues sin tener amistad preuiamente asentada, y segura con ellos, entrarla sin este seguro, era sacrificarla: mayormente quando estaba conocido el animo sospechoso de los Pananas, assi en haver retenido el embiado de los Españoles, como en hauer embiado al campo de los Españoles Yndios de las reservas, y malicia, que se conocio. Lo segundo, se conoce su inexperiencia de hauer embiado a los Pananas a preguntar, que gente vivia entre ellos, sin tener antes asegurada su buena correspondencia: quando haviendo entre ellos Franceses, y en guerra su nacion con la nuestra, era forzoso, que no respondiesen a la pregunta, sino con las armas. Lo tercero, que declarado mas el animo, con hauer apressado en el río a nuestros confederados y por esto resueltose en la junta de guerra la retirada del otro rio, debio sobre este ponerse sentinela de nuestros Españoles mas desvelados, y no confiarse a los Yndios, que fatigados con la marcha de un dia, y naturalmente descuidados, era muy contingente, y necesario se rindiesen al sueño, como se experimentó. Lo quarto, que una vez, que estaba en paiz enemigo, debio poner piquetes Españoles, que observasen el mouimiento de los enemigos, ya declarados por sus acciones. Lo Quinto, que una vez que se sintio ruido de nadadores en el rio, en el silencio de la noche, y que creyo era de enemigos, debio augmentarse el cuidado, y ponerse sentinelas sobre el mismo campo, para el aviso. Lo Sexto, que una vez, que el perro con su ladrado, les dio el aviso de sus amos los enemigos, debio despertarlos del descuido en que dormian, y mantener unida la esquadra, que estaba en la custodia de la caballeria, que se les acercó, y mandarla retirar como se hizo." The same facts are related on folio 6 of the same document as follows: "Y se encomendo la Sentinela del Rio a los Yndios confederados. Y entrada la noche se oyo ruido de nadadores en el Rio; y con este aviso se dio a la esquadra que velaba las caballerias, para que estuviesen con cuidado. Despues se oyo ladrar un perro, de que no se hizo aprecio." The fact that the Pawnees captured some of the Indian allies is a suspicious sign, not only of the hostility of the Pawnees towards the Spaniards, but of possible treachery on the part of the Apaches themselves. Had the Pawnees been very hostile towards the latter, they would have killed, and not taken prisoners, the one or two Carlanes whom they surprised on the river banks.

Apaches really as faithful and trustworthy as Villazur considered them to be?

At all events, the night passed on without interruption of any kind, and at daybreak the work of breaking camp began. The horses and mules were within reach, under guard of a small picket of Spanish soldiers. Don Pedro de Villazur's horse was held by his servant, Melchor Rodriguez, and he himself stood outside his tent not yet fully armed. All was bustle, and to some extent confusion, incident upon departure from the spot where they had enjoyed such a peaceful rest. At this moment musketry shots and a flight of arrows issued from the tall grass, and their effect was the more murderous since the enemy had crept up as close as possible and taken deliberate aim. Villazur called for his carbine; but Domingo Mendizabal, who ran to get it, never returned from the tent where it lay; and had Mendizabal been able to return, he would no longer have found his master among the living.

The confusion at once became terrible. Volley of balls and arrows followed upon volley. The picket rushed up, for they were the only ones of the whole troop who were fully armed. The Apaches crept to cover, and the Pawnees, seeing how effective their fire had proved, came up to close quarters with their spears. Three times the guard repulsed their attacks, but it was impossible to rescue the main body; the effects of the first onslaught had been decisive. Seeing themselves sorely pressed by the enemy, unable to assist the camp any longer, and joined by the Apaches, who had no other thought than their own safety, the half-dozen Spaniards took to flight also. The Pawnees could not pursue them, as they were unmounted.

What happened in camp after the death of Villazur can only be guessed at. It seems certain that the majority of the men were killed almost at the first fire. One of the first

who fell was the Captain Juan de Archibeque. He was killed with his horse, which he had probably mounted; his servant was seriously wounded in the chest, and left him only when he saw that life was extinct. Of the fate of the others only so much is known, that they all perished then and there. One eyewitness says that he saw four of his comrades fall together. The engagement proper cannot have lasted longer than a few minutes; the rest was a butchery, a massacre, Indian fashion, of disabled and disarmed victims.¹

¹ The tale is told as follows by the Auditor in his *Parecer* (fol. 6): "Al amanecer arrimaron las caballerías al Real los soldados de la esquadra, y al remudar todos a un mismo tiempo los atacaron los Pananas y Franceses, que emboscados, esperaron lograr el tiro al menor descuido. Acometieron con fusiles, lanzas, y flechas, y al estruendo de los tiros, estampio la caballería; recojió la esquadra que la cuidaba, y pudo en tres veces, que esta esquadra rechaso a los enemigos sacar tres heridos, de entre los muertos de nuestro campo, que fueron quarenta y tantos, y con estos, y los Yndios amigos se salvó, segun resulta de las declaraciones de seis testigos, y de estos los tres soldados, que como inspectores de esta triste tragedia depusieron en la sumaria." In the *Ynformaciones de Manuel Flores y de Ana Maria de Vega, Viuda de Domingo Mendizabal*, 1723, (MS.,) the eyewitness Antonio Gonzalez, an Indian who spoke Spanish, says: "Qē haviendoles dado Repentinamente los Pananas y Franseses en la Reuolusion de la Uatalla Uio Caer Muertos a Dho Mendizabal y otros quatro con los quales salia abrigado el declarante y que como Dios le ayudo se escapo y dejo con los otros muertos." The witness Melchor Rodriguez says: "Qē estando este declarante serca de la Tienda a donde estaua su amo el Genl Dn Pedro de Villazur con el dhō Mendisabal Yntespestiuamente al Salir el Sol dieron la Carga Serrada Dhōs Franseses y con el alboroto Qē se formo de armas oyo dezir a dhō Gl Mandaba a dhō Mendisabal Qē le sacase la carauinas Qē lo uio entrar en la tienda no Uio si salio o alli le mataron por ser la Uateria delas Ualas en dha Tienda." In a conversation with Ana Maria Vega the deponent confirmed his statement.

The death of Juan de Archibeque is stated as follows by his body servant, Santiago Giravalle, in *Ynformaciones Matrimoniales de Bernardino de Sena, y de Manuela de Ruibal, Viuda de Juan de Archibeque*, 1727 (MS.): "Que lo vio lla espirando, y que solo por milagro podia Uir porque estaba mui mal erido con una erida en el pecho de un Valazo, fuera de otras eridas y en esto conforman los que vinieron de dicha Campaña, y que el avia escapado por dexar su amo lla voqueando." That Giravalle had himself been seriously wounded is testified to by Felipe Tamariz in the same document, and also by Manuel Thenorio. Both assert that Giravalle had "siete heridas." The loss of the horse is stated in *Ynbentarios y Avtos de Liquidasion*, fol. 8.

Not one of the eyewitnesses whose statements I have mentions the fate, or the name even, of Fray Juan Mingues. Escalante, who wrote fifty-eight years after the occurrence, says he was killed also. M. de Bois-Brillant, in his letter of April, 1721, reports (from hearsay of course) that the Spanish priest accompanying the corps escaped on a horse.¹ Certain it is, that hereafter Fray Mingues is heard of no more in New Mexico. On the other hand, it is very strange that not even the official documents on the event, the final reports on the investigation, mention the presence of a "chaplain" in the doomed body of adventurous men.

The Spanish sources are unanimous and emphatic in attributing the disaster to the French and the Pawnees. The French sources make no mention of the presence of their people, and ascribe the butchery to various tribes,—some to the Missouris,² some to the "Octotata and Passinchan."³ Until otherwise informed, I incline to the belief that the Spanish authorities are reliable on this point, and that the destruction of the Spanish corps was due to the Pawnees, guided, directed, and assisted by a limited number of Frenchmen.

It is very natural that the result of this expedition should have created the utmost excitement in New Mexico. Nearly one half of the garrison of Santa Fé had perished.⁴ The Viceroy ordered an investigation. That investigation was intrusted to the Brigadier Don Pedro de Rivera, Visitor

¹ *Journal Historique*, p. 249.

² Shea, *Peñalosa*, p. 93.

³ *Journal Historique*, p. 249: "Ils y avaient rencontré les nations Octotata et Passinchan, qui les avaient tués tous, excepté un religieux que s'était sauvé sur son cheval."

⁴ The regular garrison of Santa Fé at that time was one hundred men. Of these, forty went along under Villazur; the other ten Spaniards were armed citizens, like Archibeque, Rodriguez, etc. *Autos sobre Comercio ilícito con los Franceses* (Declaration of Diego Arias de Quiros).

General of the frontier garrisons in New Spain.¹ The bulk of the documents resulting from that court of inquiry have disappeared from the Santa Fé archives, but the final result has been preserved. It censures the Governor Don Antonio Valverde Cossio for having intrusted the leadership of the campaign (if campaign it may be called) to his lieutenant, Don Pedro de Villazur, but admits mitigating circumstances. Still, basing upon interesting precedents, it holds the superior responsible for the blunders of his agent, and sentences Governor Valverde to a fine of two hundred "pesos" (dollars), one fourth of which was to be applied to masses for the souls of those who had perished, and the remainder towards completing the outfit of the missions recently established at the Junta de los Rios in Chihuahua, at the junction of the Rio Conchos with the Rio Grande del Norte.² This sentence was light, but it would hardly have been fair to render one more severe. Don Antonio Valverde did the best he could under the circumstances. He had confidence in his lieutenant, and, furthermore, he gave him as adviser and counsel the most experienced, the best, and the most energetic resident of New Mexico whom he could induce to go with the expedition. That man was Juan de Archibeque. To make Valverde responsible to the extent of all the loss of life, all the material damage caused, would have been not only unjust, but impossible. Therefore a nominal penalty was declared; and soon after Don Antonio de Valverde was displaced in the government of New Mexico by Don Juan Domingo Bustamante.

The geographical results of Villazur's expedition are about as valuable as those of the journey of Leyva Bonilla and

¹ *Pareceres del Fiscal Mayor y del Auditor*, fol. 1, 2, 4. The order for the investigation bore date 1723.

² *Ibid.*, fol. 9.

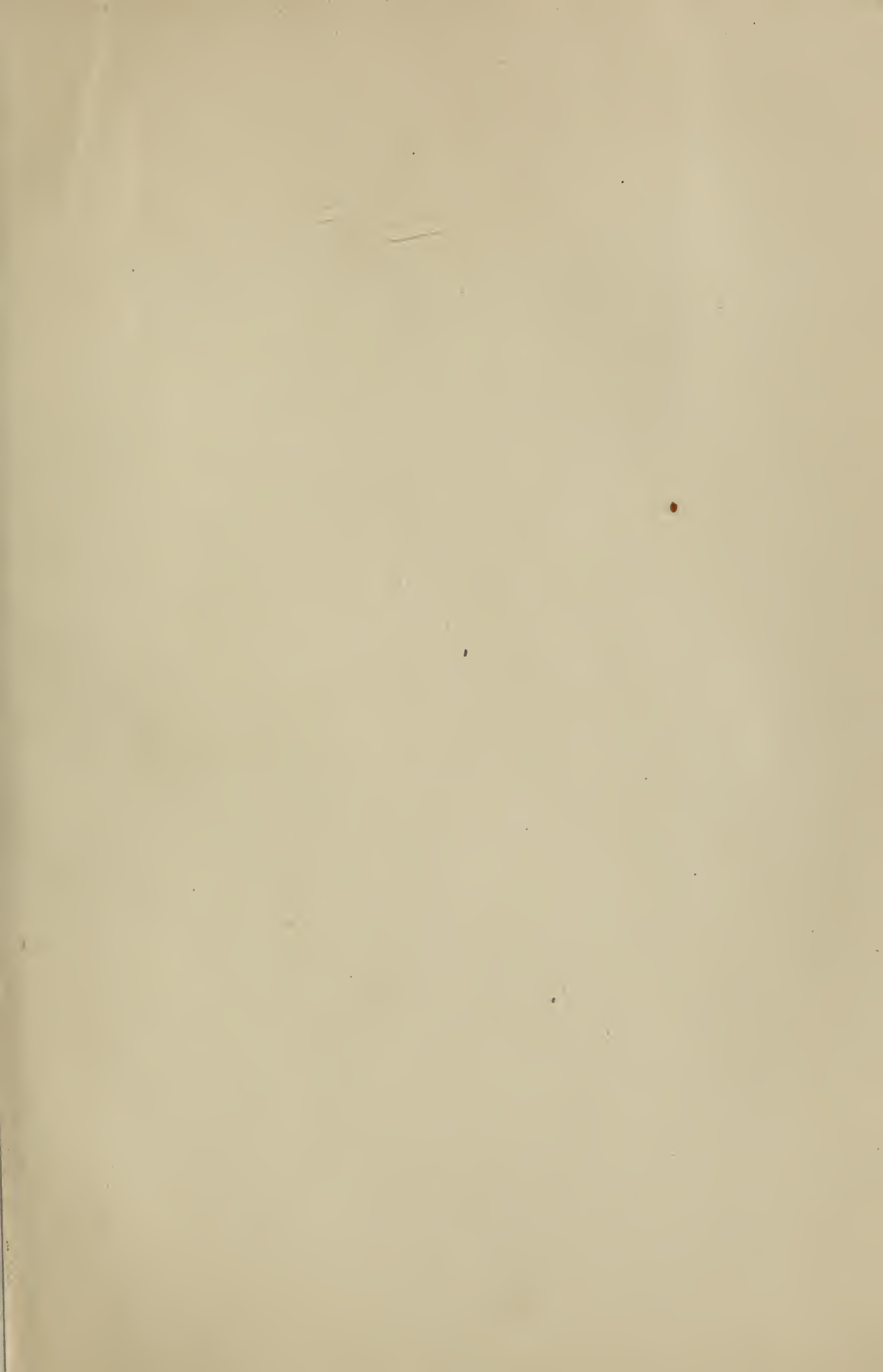
Humaña in 1585;¹ that is, they amount to hardly anything beyond the few data enabling us to establish the locality of the disaster. In other respects the results are very important in a negative way. The loss of so many men crippled the Spanish power at Santa Fé, and precluded all possibility of subsequent expeditions. It gave the tribes of the plains a more moderate idea of Spanish military power, and contributed to produce that state of depression, resulting from continuous Indian warfare, which made the people of New Mexico so unhappy for a century and more, shaping their national character into one of resignation to any evil, provided life could be secured.

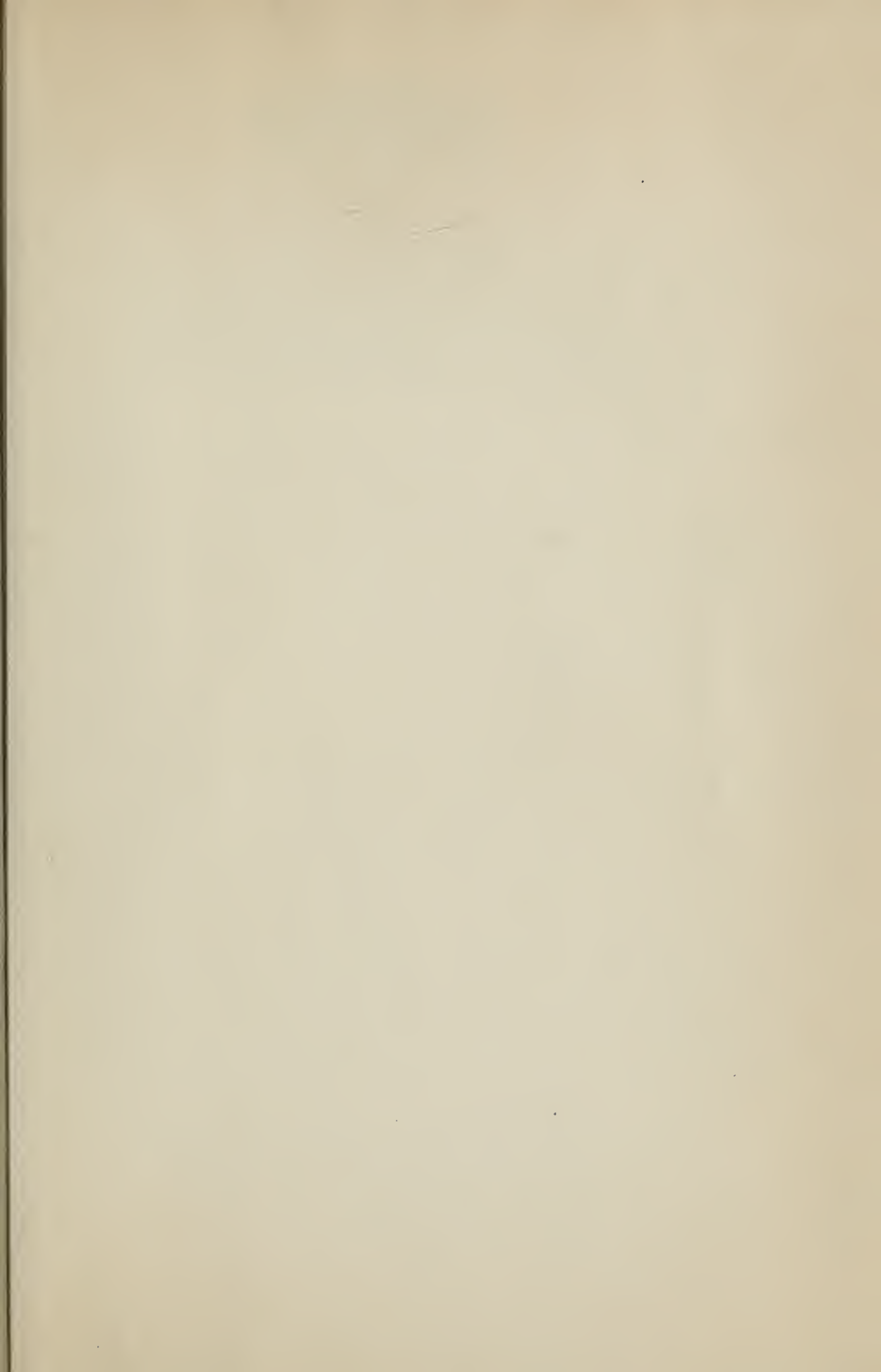
Indirectly the defeat of Villazur has led to another result, and one certainly opposite to what was originally intended. It taught the Canadian French the road into New Mexico. Not more than nineteen years after the occurrence, nine French Canadians made their appearance, though all but one of them soon returned to Canada. Unfortunately, that Frenchman, whose name was Louis Maria Colons Moro (probably Moreau), conceived the criminal idea of inciting the Pueblo Indians to insurrection, for which crime he was deservedly shot at Santa Fé on the 18th of October, 1743.² But the road to New Mexico had been found, and French-

¹ This expedition, about which very little is known, not even the exact date, although it probably began in 1585, had a yet more tragic end. Nearly every one perished; only three lives were saved. I hope at some future time to be able to write a somewhat satisfactory monograph on this dark and bloody episode.

² The originals of the cause against Colons are in my possession. *Causa Fulminada contra Luis Maria Colons, Moro: Criollo de las Colonias de Franzia de las Probinzias de Canada en 31 de Mayo del Año de 1743*, MS. He appears in the documents as "Colons," but probably his name was Moreau. On folio 1 it is stated: "Yntruso en este Reyno el año de Mill Setezientos treynta y nueve que con otros ocho de su nacion que binieron de las Colonias de Franzia de las partes de Canada." The death sentence and notice of execution are on the title-page.

men continued to filter into the remote and isolated region. They assimilated with the population without forgetting the land whence they had come. The "Santa Fé trail" owes its establishment largely to such energetic sons of the Canadian soil, and indirectly also to the efforts of Spanish enterprise in the direction of the North. Of these efforts Villazur's ill-fated expedition was the last, and one of the most tragic instances.





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